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# West Europe Report

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12 MAY 1986

## WEST EUROPE REPORT

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POLITICAL

BELGIUM

# FLEMISH RESIDENTS OF BRUSSELS ON POSITION, FUTURE OF CITY

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 19 Mar 86 pp 34-36

[Interview with Rik Coolen, Walter Vandenbossche, and Guido Fredrix, respectively co-chairmen and secretary of the 3rd Congress of the Flemish residents of Brussels, by Gerrit Six: "The Flemish Spring in Brussels."]

[Text] On 22 March, the Flemish residents of Brussels will hold their 3rd congress. Following cultural autonomy and state reform, they want a dialogue with the Walloon residents of Brussels and political power for Brussels.

The 3rd Congress of the Flemish residents of Brussels will be held on 22 March at the "Ancienne Belgique" in Brussels. There the two chairmen, Rik Coolen and Walter Vandenbossche, will explain the manifesto of the Flemings of Brussels. During the following interview they spoke, together with Secretary Guido Fredrix, about the sense of such a 3rd Congress, a congress which should have taken place a year earlier but which nevertheless shifts the Flemish consciousness in Brussels into a different gear. Cultural autonomy and Egmont have taken place, but the 1986 manifesto is a definitive request for participation in the running of Brussels.

Walter Vandenbossche: The 3rd Congress is not so much aimed at a status questionis, but rather at a manifesto which combines a number of lines of force to promote the prosperity and welfare of the residents of the capital. In 1980 we had a good analysis of the situation. We started with a state reform. And for some people, a state reform that didn't go far enough. Flanders and Wallonia were involved in that. Brussels was limited to a Brussels Executive. We are actually left out of that regionalization. Meanwhile, thinking about the Belgian government system has changed completely and we want to stimulate this in order to get Brussels moving. That is an option which is completely different from that of the second congress. We are emphasizing the socio-economic reconstruction of the city. A great deal of work has been done on the socio-cultural development of the city, but now we must go further. We have sound proposals for the development of the city, enough to enter into a dialogue with the Walloons.

Rik Coolen: There are so many facets. We are still starting off from those status questionis. But we do like to look to the future. For 5 years everything in Brussels has remained frozen. At the constitutional level nothing was done there. There was silence, a temporary regime, that is not an ideal situation. There are elements built into the government agreement which come

out of our 1980 memorandum. We want to work in stages. There will not be an overall definitive solution: a constitutional change and other reforms must take place in stages. What concerns us is that those steps take place and that more definitive solutions be achieved. An important key idea is that we feel that we are ripe for power participation. We have experienced an evolution through the cultural matters, the NCC; now we didn't get any further than a secretary of state in the Executive who did have kind of a veto power.

The first Congress involved cultural matters, the NCC, but we thought it was too narrow then. Then the notion of matters related to individuals became fashionable. The NCC was beautiful, but we wanted to pull the whole thing open.

Guido Fredrix: The 1980 Congress came after Egmont, where the Flemish residents of Brussels were in the forefront of the resistance. We had to grab that opportunity. It was the congress of "file development," files about bi-community matters. As a matter of fact, we wanted to be prepared for our task. When we started working on this 3rd Congress, in early 1984, we were faced with a number of negative indicators: the crisis, the negative growth of budgets in the cultural sector. There was a malaise, the feeling that we were being left out of decision making: Brussels in cold storage. This congress is the avant-garde of the Flemish Movement in Brussels.

#### FDF Syndrome

Vandenbossche: Flanders' choice to proclaim Brussels as its capital is not only symbolic. Brussels is the keystone of its economic future. It is an incentive for the Flemish Movement in Brussels.

Fredrix: Those who have been in power in Brussels, the French speaking politicians, have made a number of very serious mistakes. They did not let the Flemish participate fully in the power. That is why they strengthened the image of the hatred of Flemish in Brussels. Those French speaking politicians are now equally annoyed by the demands of the Walloons. They want to take economic power out of their hands and take it to Wallonia. Those politicians are caught in a pincer between the two of us, between the Flemish and the Walloons. For years we have had a solution which we want to discuss with the Walloons.

Coolen: The French speaking residents of Brussels are overwhelmingly in favor of bilingualism, which is not consistent with their FDF [Democratic Front of Brussels French Speakers] votes. Hence, there is movement.

Fredrix: There is a rapprochement because in part we are concerned with the same things: environment, housing problems. Neighborhood renovators meet and the city's problems take a central position.

Coolen: In the past, the French speakers doubted our concern for the city's problems. But with very few resources we have proven that we are indeed capable of that. That has brought together a number of interest groups. French speakers and Dutch speakers. The realization that we need one another is

gaining ground. You suddenly see someone like Nols roughly swerving toward the Flemish; he took the chief of the fire department, Van Gompel, by the arm and built up a Flemish image "against" the foreign workers. You cannot approve of that, but it does indicate the change in mentality.

Fredrix: Some politicians have not become so friendly toward the Flemish, but they understand that the Flemish are attractive tax payers. Thus the Flemish residents of Brussels are not the marginals in Brussels: they are highly trained, university graduates, top level officials. Who pays for the livability of the city? People realize it but don't dare to defend this in their own party yet; someone like Piquet from Saint-Gilles is looking for a rapprochement with the Flemish but will not plead the matter before his party committee yet. An important civil servant has said that the French speakers will have to give up the idea of a "region a part entiere" [full-fledged region] if they don't want to get pushed into a corner. But he cannot yet say this at his party's congress.

Question: The real linguistic parties have lost power. Have they been somewhat picked up in that area by the majority parties?

Vandenbossche: The FDF syndrome is not yet completely gone. The other parties have serious doubts. They had to work on that complex, but cannot go any further now. We have very attractive proposals which somewhat disarm our former opponent.

It is apparent that we have a power base at the large urban level which offers solutions to both communities. One day we will achieve institutional reforms via that policy. The French speakers haven't really taken over those FDF positions.

Fredrix: Too little attention is being paid in Flanders to those kinds of subcutaneous movements. Because the Flemish residents of Brussels are so underrepresented in their parties also.

Coolen: Brussels is the problem within the Belgian system which nobody can make heads or tails of.

Fredrix: I think that we, as a congress, can ensure the demythification of those ideas about Brussels.

Coolen: We are facing a decline of the population on both sides. In terms of percentages, the number of young Flemish people moving out of Brussels -- not too far, but they are pulling away -- is somewhat higher. They are young people who have children, are building a career and pay taxes: the depopulation. A number of French speakers do realize that both Flemings and Walloons must be attracted in order to stem that phenomenon of decadence. Solutions must be found to keep them here.

Question: We are back to Nols and his swerve toward the Flemish. What does the congress of the Brussels Flemings have to say about foreign workers?

Vandenbossche: We must puncture a number of myths. Those 250,000 foreigners out of a population of 900,000 are not all foreign workers. More than half of them are inhabitants of the EC. The majority have no problems living here. Furthermore, for years the responsible politicians have not conducted any policy at all with regard to the immigrants.

You reap what you have sown. We should not simply turn away migrant workers as being potential French speakers. We should conduct a Flemish policy with regard to that issue.

Fredrix: Brussels is the only really international city in this country. In the whole Dutch speaking area even. It is the capital of the kingdom and of the two major communities. Furthermore, it is a conglomerate of 19 municipalities and 100 districts.

We believe very strongly in the strength of a linguistically mixed area; there, a quantitative superiority is not decisive but rather the status of a language and culture. The social status of the Flemish language is good, but as far as the image is concerned Brussels is still quantitatively a French speaking city. When they get really settled, immigrants discover that there is also another language which they need in business and industry. Hence the success of bi-cultural education among foreigners. Take a look also at Dutch language education which attracts children of French speakers from the better circles. It is a clean trend.

Vandenbossche: We now have an enormous economic substructure and we are now faced with the second step: participation in political power. That socio-cultural substructure is not enough; we have to get a discussion going and get Brussels on the move in order to let it determine its own fate. Five years after Egmont we feel that we must take that step forward. Brussels politicians are talking only about savings; Flemish politicians are talking only about the third industrial revolution; the economic imperative prevents the tackling of the community problems. But that imperative is equally important for us within Brussels. Brussels must be able to play a significant role at the economic level. The time is ripe to take that step.

Coolen: Brussels must not be represented solely by French speaking politicians to negotiate with Flanders.

Favorable

Fredrix: The joke is that the residents of Brussels are the greatest democrats when it comes to the number of institutions they have at their disposal, but their say is nil. For some people they should not have a vote.

Coolen: There is the confusion of institutions; some order needs to be put into that, somewhat greater clarity. That awareness is alive in those who want something. The French speakers are also aware of that.

Vandenbossche: Hence, the lever for institutional reform is not exclusively language, but rather policy. That is the essence. That is how it is written in the manifesto. We are an adult community which has worked on its socio-cultural substructure and now we want to participate in power. We have not only found the basis for a dialogue with the French speaking community, now we can also build Brussels with Flanders and start a dialogue. Brussels could play a very significant role. Flanders must be willing to use its power to help achieve those reforms.

Fredrix: To quote Shakespeare: "The tide is favorable"; not the economic but the political cycle is favorable. If we don't do anything about the main problems of Brussels, where will be be then in the year 2000? Decisions in the area of city planning must be made now in order to guarantee the quality of life in the next decade.

Coolen: It is wonderful, isn't it, how over a period of 10 years, and starting from zero, such a socio-cultural structure was built up. That is wonderful, but now we can no longer go forward. Some people get discouraged by that.

And that promotes flight from the city.

There is another point which should not escape our attention. In 1975 we took the position that matters related to individuals were as important as culture. That will be included in the constitution, but since then it has been at a standstill. The impenetrable situation of the bi-community issues. There are great masses of them. The Brussels OCMW is working with 4,000 individuals. Now the time has also come to tackle this point in the constitution. Flanders can already let its power play in part, by decree. As Flemings alone we should have a number of positions of power in order to be able to penetrate the bi-community institutions tomorrow; for the time being we don't have much grip on that. That is also a facet of our action. In 1970 we very deliberately set up "socio"-cultural councils. We already foresaw this then.

Vandenbossche: As chairmen we are a symbol, because of the difference in our ages. Rik is a pioneer, my generation will have to tackle the issues definitively now: officials, small businessmen, intellectuals, we have the matter in hand. A community awareness must be developed. That is the major message addressed to our generation. Now it is our turn. We must be able to reach that young Fleming who is somewhat doubtful about that metropolis. That is the message of the congress of 22 March.

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POLITICAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

# PERCENTAGE OF APPLICANTS FINDING TEACHING JOBS REMAINS LOW

Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 3 Apr 86 p 13

[Article by U.S.: "More Teacher Applicants Turned Down"]

[Text] The number of teachers accepted into public school service continues to drop further. According to the latest statistics of the standing conference of German ministers of education, only 10,438 out of 61,896 applicants were hired. This figure of about 10,000 new teachers per year has remained constant since 1983, but the ratio between applicants and teachers hired has worsened considerably since then, because the number of applicants for the teaching profession has increased further.

This is a consequence of the times when over 20 percent of all students were studying for a teaching career in elementary and secondary schools. The throng of graduates seen today comes at a time when the number of pupils has dropped drastically because of the Pill, the budget is tight, and most teaching positions are held by colleagues in their early middle age, whose retirement is still very far off.

Some salient figures make this development very clear:

Year	Applicants	Applicants Hired	Hirings, in Percent
1979:	40,568	33,987	83.8 percent
1981:	41,493	26,290	63.4 percent
1983:	40,367	10,017	24.8 percent
1985:	61,896	10,438	16.9 percent

These numbers show very clearly that more and more applicants did not get a chance. In 1979, 6,581 applicants were denied a job; in 1985, there were already 51,458 of them. Not all teachers hired also get civil service ranking. Of the 10,438 hired in 1985, only 53 percent obtained civil service positions; 47 percent had to be satisfied with staff positions, most of which come with limited contracts.

The growing number of rejections has pushed up unemployment among teachers. Last year, 28,696 teachers were registered as unemployed. Among a

total of 117,000 unemployed university graduates, they constitute the professional group most affected.

The drop in the number of pupils--a consequence of the rapidly declining birth rate after 1967--has also assumed dramatic proportions. The children from the years of high birth rates, who had caused great problems for schools of general education between 1970 and 1983, have mostly passed out of those schools. While the number of pupils in schools of general education (excluding vocational schools) were around 10 million in 1975, it dropped to 7.2 million in 1985. On a national level, 411,000 fewer pupils were registered between 1982 and 1983 alone; between 1984 and 1985, the number of pupils decreased by 380,000.

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POLITICAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

NUMBER OF APPRENTICESHIP POSITIONS INCREASES

Frankfurt . FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Apr 86 p 13

[Article by Sch.: "More Apprenticeship Positions"]

[Text] The number of apprenticeship positions has increased further. During the first 6 months of the vocational guidance year 1985/1986 (30 September), the Labor Offices received notice of 25,900, or 7 percent, more apprenticeship positions in firms than during the same period of the previous year. During the same period, the number of applicants dropped by 15,700, or 3 percent. Heinrich Franke, president of the Federal Labor Office, made these figures public in Nuremberg, warning at the same time against concluding that this means a "sweeping improvement" in the situation of apprenticeship positions. Clear imbalances continue to exist in individual regions and vocations. The shifts in the structure of applicants also continue: there are more applicants with a college-entry education, and fewer applicants with a primary or intermediate secondary education. Accordingly, the number of applicants for apprenticeship positions over 18 years of age is growing. By the end of March, 397,700 apprenticeship positions were registered with the labor offices; there were 503,500 applicants.

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POLITICAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

#### GIRLS BEGIN TRAINING IN TRADITIONALLY MALE FIELDS

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 22/23 March 86 p 9

[Article by Christine Broll: "Opportunities in the Male Domain"]

[Text] "Well, when I say that I am a measuring and control mechanic, then I am considered mighty important. And when I explain it in more detail, many are quite enthusiastic." This is reported not without pride by 23-year old Christina--for she managed to get a foothold in a traditionally male job. For almost 4 years she has been working as a measuring and control mechanic at the Continental-Gummiwerke in Hannover.

Originally she wanted to become a physiotherapist, but she would have had to leave home, and that she didn't want. "So then I went to the Labor Office and took a test, and they asked me if I would be interested in becoming a measuring and control mechanic." In the apprentice workshop, she still felt comfortable. "The boys acted as they had done in school." But problems started at the factory: "First off, they came and looked me over; 'oh Lord, the poor girl, don't let her do anything. She can't, anyway; after all, she is a girl.'"

But Christina insisted on doing independent work. For a while, all the men constantly looked over her shoulder. "That has normalized itself now." And she is in her boyfriend's good books; when he tinkers with the car, she expertly tackles the electric wiring: "I enjoy it, I know what I am doing!"

Even today, girls like Christina are still the exception. Up to now, more than 90 percent of all apprenticeship positions in the trade and technical sector are filled with boys. This is disastrous for girls, since about half of all apprenticeship openings are in these jobs. This is also one of the reasons that two-thirds of youngsters without vocational training positions are young women--about 40,000 at present.

Because of traditionally taught role model thinking, too many girls confine themselves to "classical" women's jobs. While in all the trade and technical vocations about 51,000 girls were trained in 1984, in only one of the traditional women's jobs--that of hairdresser--there were about

65,000 apprentices. Yet the girls in technical jobs would later have better statistical chances of finding work: there are six applicants (male or female) for each opening in the service sector, while in the trade and technical sector there are only 1.5 applicants.

Women today are still almost completely excluded from "classical technology," and they are only slowly gaining entry. But the "new technology" of computers pushes mainly women out of their traditional jobs. Up to now, mostly women were employed as technical draftsmen in construction offices; but now, more and more men are taking over--attracted by the terminals for computer-assisted drawing, the CAD technology. The SPD estimates that 70 percent of office jobs being eliminated concern women.

"I wanted to learn something unusual. I have mechanical ability, and typing or dyeing hair did not appeal to me," says 18-year old Sabine. She is now an apprentice auto mechanic at the Flughafen Frankfurt Main AG. But most girls are not as imaginative as Sabine in choosing a vocation. In 1984, more than half of all girls were trained in only ten vocations. As mentioned before, the girls' "hit" list is topped by the job of hairdresser, closely followed by salesgirl and office clerk. Yet there are over 430 training vocations recognized by the government in the FRG. Only a small fraction of them are not suitable in practice for girls because of various regulations; this is true for particularly hard physical labor, for instance in the construction or steel industries.

The Federal Government realized already in the 1970's that girls would have better opportunities if they chose vocations atypical for women. In 1978, therefore, the Ministry for Education and Science started the trial program "to open up training for trade and technical vocations for girls."

The program was concluded last year. The ministry invested about DM 27 million in order to have 1,186 girls trained in 217 enterprises. The emphasis was on metallurgical and electrical jobs. Some girls entered the male world as female pioneers. In 1977, for example, there was not a single female trainee among vehicle upholsterers. In 1984, 123 women had entered this male bailiwick because of the program.

#### Plato's Words

At the beginning of the trial program, many of the training managers were very skeptical. But most of the girls managed to turn the prejudices against them into a positive attitude. "At first, I imagined more difficulties could occur than actually happened," says trainer Wolfgang Dankenbrink of the Zeiss optics firm. And his colleague at Siemens, Rainer Sattich, adds: "Actually, I can only say positive things. The girls are fully integrated, it is actually quite normal now." The girls proved their competence in the examination, also: over 98 percent of the female candidates passed.

The education ministry comes, therefore, to the conclusion that "the trial program proved unequivocally that women also have aptitudes for

technical vocations and can compete at any time with the performance of their male colleagues." This program officially confirmed what the Greek philosopher Plato stated 2,400 years ago: "Therefore, my friend, there is no specific occupation for a woman only because she is a woman, and none specifically for a man only because he is a man; rather, the talents are distributed evenly among the two sexes."

It is hoped, and not only in the education ministry, that the results of the trial program will undercut the traditional role model thinking faster and more effectively than Plato's words. Only 6.8 percent of the girls became unemployed after this training--considerably fewer than the average of all graduates of the dual system.

But problems arise when they change firms. Wolfgang Dankenbrink: "If the girls cannot be taken on by our factory, they have difficulties in finding work. Many firms do not hire women for those jobs." This is probably one of the reasons why girls hardly dare to go into these vocations. Continental-Gummiwerke, which had favorable experiences with women trainees, complains about the lack of female applicants now that the program has ended.

In order to bolster the girls' cause with cautious firms, the education ministry intends to start a continuation program to implement the positive results from the trial program. In this budget year, DM 1.5 million are set aside for the project. Work on the drafts is in progress; they will be ready in 6 months.

Even the ministry admits that it will not be a great breakthrough. "These implementation projects can only be of aid through example," an announcement states. The SPD and the Greens have criticized several times that the government has not started more model programs in this direction. Herta Daeubler-Gmelin advocates more training institutions above the factory level. These should be established by the chambers (of commerce, etc.), industry, and public authorities. It already works in a model fashion in North Rhine-Westphalia. This form of training could contribute decisively to widening vocational fields for girls. "If more girls get into trade and technical vocations through such inter-company training institutes, others could find more openings in the traditional jobs," the SPD politician says. The Greens see the solution of the problem in setting quotas for the training places. In all vocational fields, 50 percent boys and 50 percent girls should be hired.

While the trial program led women into technical jobs, an opposite trend has started in offices: women are forced out of their traditional fields of work through data processing, because many women are still afraid of computers. Even if they overcome this fear, their traditional jobs are in danger. Education Minister Dorothee Wims fears that women will be pushed into monotonous word processing jobs if they do not learn to handle the new technology creatively.

Computer courses in the schools also did not have the desired success. Peter Braun of the education ministry summarizes the experience: "Even

when girls join the computer work group, it turns out that the boys sit in front of the equipment and the girls watch." Since boys spend their free time with computers--one hardly ever sees a girl in the computer sections of department stores--they are also ahead of the game in school. "The more advanced ones dominate the instruction and set the learning pace," girls complained when polled by the ministry. So the ministry bets on computer courses where girls are amongst themselves.

Last year demonstrated how greatly interested girl students are in such courses. When the ministry, at the suggestion of a women's magazine, offered one-week "get acquainted courses" for girls, they received 3,500 written applications. Only 160 girls got into the course. So now Bonn plans, as of this summer, to have training courses lasting 3 to 6 months with various computer manufacturers. They will be free of charge for the female participants.

With a view to women, Dorothee Wilms also created three new vocational positions: software technician, communications technician, and CIM technician (computer integrated manufacturing). In order to avoid having men move into these vocational fields right away, Minister Wilms has given up her aversion to any quota system: only women are to be accepted for the year-long courses. Men will be admitted only after the trial program has ended and the courses are offered by educational institutions.

Women can become software and communications technicians through one-year correspondence courses from the Bad Harzburg Academy. The courses will begin in early summer; the selection process is presently underway. The study course for a software technician is tailored for female applicants with a secondary education and vocational training (job experience is also acceptable). Next year, the first 100 graduates are to go into enterprises as executive clerks and to select, instal and use the appropriate software there in various branches, such as organization, sales and stockkeeping. To become a communications technician, a gymnasium diploma and vocational training are required. The graduates are to find their place in middle management.

The one-year training for CIM technicians will only begin next year. The target group are women who have studied natural sciences. The plan is for CIM technicians to advise business management in the use of computers. The Technical University of Berlin, which participates in the planning of the courses, has computed that even today, 150 graduates could be placed in industry.

#### Continued Education a Central Theme

Next year, 200 women will finish these courses--a small minority among the host of unemployed. But this program by no means erases the danger of women of being replaced by computers. The education minister opines: "The central theme of the next 2 decades is continued education." At the moment, this is still considered something of an appendage. And this is

where SPD criticism sets in. "We need retraining courses to a much larger extent," demands Ms. Daeubler-Gmelin.

The Greens are not at all enthusiastic about getting women into computers at all costs. The massive use of computers is not being critically evaluated by the government, says Karin Zeitler, who deals with education and science in the Green parliamentary caucus. She believes that the reserved attitude of women vis-a-vis computers is quite justified. Women have recognized the dangers threatening them from the computer. But only if women are able to service a computer, will they be in a position to participate in the decision of how to use it--and to make the work world friendlier to women and mankind.

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CSO: 3620/650

POLITICAL

FINLAND

FOREIGN MINISTER CONFIRMS PLO NOT INVITED FOR OFFICIAL VISIT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 27 Mar 86 p 8

[Article: "PLO Will Not Receive Official Invitation to Finland"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen has confirmed that the PLO has not been and will not be issued an official invitation to visit Finland. If the PLO's representatives come to Finland on their own initiative or on the basis of an invitation from private individuals, meetings with government representatives at a suitable level will be arranged for them.

According to the communique issued by the Foreign Ministry, Al Wazir, the director of the PLO's Information Office in Helsinki, went to see Seppo Pietinen, chief of the Foreign Ministry's Political Section, last week with a request and proposed that Foreign Minister Vayrynen invite Farouk Kaddoumi, the section chief responsible for the PLO's foreign relations, on a visit to Finland.

This week the Foreign Ministry notified the PLO's Helsinki office that Foreign Minister Vayrynen is ready to meet with Section Chief Kaddoumi at the special session of the UN General Assembly at the end of May, during the General Assembly meeting in the fall, or in connection with some other suitable occasion.

In addition, it was mentioned in the Foreign Ministry's communique that Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa met privately with PLO leader Yasser Arafat in March 1984 in connection with an official visit to Tunisia.

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

MINORITY WING NEWSPAPER ON WIDENING SPLIT IN COMMUNIST PARTY

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 20 Feb 86 p 2

[Editorial: "First Reactions"]

[Text] The decisions made Sunday by the SKP organizations committee about the SKP organizations meeting in April and about the creation of a new broad-based election organization were received excitedly by the members, supporters, and friends of the communist and the social democrat movements. The decisions have been seen to open up new possibilities for developing and widening action, and to change the whole field of Finnish politics.

As was to be expected, in its decision yesterday the political committee of Aalto's group cursed the actions of the organizations committee; again as expected it also confused matters internally. In contrast to the claims of the political committee, the SKP organizations committee is certainly not creating a "party to compete with SKP," but holds on tightly to the SKP name, membership book, program, legal regulations, common decisions, and membership. It is Aalto's group that is about to give all this up.

The bourgeois public has, as a general rule, dealt with the issue at least a bit more closely. It was strange, on the other hand, that the head editor of the Center party's SUOMENMAA newspaper had not even bothered to read the decisions of the SKP organizations committee. The election speculations of the writer also revealed a very weak knowledge of communist and social-democratic concerns, and an eccentric stand in support of Aalto's dissolution policies.

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

# AALTO, RETURNING FROM CPSU CONGRESS, SEES BETTER RELATIONS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 8 Mar 86 p 12

[Article: "Aalto Believes Tension Will Decrease in NKP Relations"]

[Text] SKP chairman Arvo Aalto, settled back home after visiting Moscow, believes that the tension between the Finnish and Soviet Communist parties will disappear. Aalto thinks that the spirit and decisions of the NKP party congress support the idea that party relations will return to normal.

The Finnish Communist Party's split into what are effectively two separate parties has strained relations. The party split lacks only the finishing touches and will be realized before the parliamentary election, which the minority will participate in as its own electoral party.

The opposition did not get to participate in the SKP delegation, which was called at the last minute to observe the NKP party congress.

The delegation was headed by Aalto, who in the eyes of the Soviets has a questionable reputation as the architect of the party dissolution.

During the congress, the NKP's main newspaper, PRAVDA said that the SKP was represented in Moscow by Aalto and by the secretary of foreign affairs, Olavi Poikolainen. PRAVDA did not mention Aalto as the chairman of the delegation; with the other delegations, the newspaper always told who the leader was.

## Participation Continuity

Aalto, who had returned home late Friday night, repeated his view that the SKP's participation at the party congress is already itself a sign of the continuation of relations.

"The open, clearly forward-looking and friendly discussions I had with the NKP comrades signify mutual readiness to free ourselves of the tensions associated with the internal state of the SKP, which have disturbed our parties' relations. The leadership of our party is completely ready for this."

The reference to "open" discussions suggests that they did not achieve agreement.

In the press conference he held during the congress, Aalto also said that the tension over the minority, which has strained party relations, has been resolved.

Friday, Aalto based his hopeful impression of the increasing cordiality of relations on the NKP decision that acknowledges the equality of all sister parties, the parties' independence, and the diversity of the communist movement. The decision also does not rank the parties in value order or admit that "some party" has sole possession of the truth.

Aalto said his most important conversation was with the deputy director of the NKP international department, Vadim Zagladin. He did not mention conversations with others. Nor did he agree to discuss how and when relations can be made more cordial.

#### "Events Will Speak"

Aalto alluded to the fact that, traditionally, the discussion over the details of the relations has been confidential. "The events themselves will speak on their own behalf when the time comes."

The SKP has made suggestions about practical cooperation and exchange of delegations, but declines to reveal how the suggestions have been received.

Aalto said that he had not yet had the opportunity to find out from General Secretary Erkki Kivimäki why the latter left himself out of the Aalto delegation. The General Secretary of the Finnish-Soviet Society did not dare to join a delegation which left out the opposition members.

About the new names at the head of the NKP, Aalto said that at least they are not a change for the worse as far as Finland and the SKP is concerned. He nevertheless wanted to stress that the renewal of leadership was not begun at the party congress. It was begun by the NKP central committee a full year ago.

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

WIDENING CP SPLIT VIEWED IN LIGHT OF CPSU CONGRESS, WAGE PACT

Stalinist Paper on CPSU Ties

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 11 Mar 86 p 3

[Editorial: "The Aalto Faction and the CPSU"]

[Text] On his return from the 27th CPSU Congress, Arvo Aalto held a press conference during which he primarily explained his faction's relations with the CPSU.

The explanation was inexact. First, Aalto spoke of relations between the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] and the CPSU and of tension, meaning his faction's abnormal relations with the CPSU. These are not at all the same thing.

Second, Aalto said that he believed that the tension between his faction and the CPSU was disappearing on the basis of the fact that the CPSU in its recent congress resolutions recognized the equal status of all the affiliated parties, the independence of these parties and the diversity of the communist movement, and it does not rank the parties, nor does it pay to control the aspirations of "any party."

So Aalto is claiming that the disappearance of tension presupposes a change of attitude on the part of the CPSU, not on the part of Aalto's faction, which is blameless and "fully ready" to relieve the tension. Aalto indirectly accuses the CPSU of presumably not having observed the above-mentioned principles governing mutual relations between the parties. Now, in light of the recent congress resolutions, Aalto is putting the CPSU to the test and would have us believe that the principles governing mutual relations that are written into the resolutions presumably give the Aalto faction the right to split the SKP and liquidate its activities, and make opposition to this action illegitimate.

The Aalto faction intends to continue to destroy the SKP on the basis of these utterly dishonest and false grounds. But those Communists who defend the SKP will not let it carry out this plan.

Veteran Stalinist Sinisalo Comments

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 14 Mar 86 pp 8-9

[Interview with Stalinist leader Taisto Sinisalo by Risto Repo: "We Can No Longer Make Do with Outdated Information"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Taisto Sinisalo, a member of the chairmanship of the SKP Organizations Committee, says that, if we in Finland do not at this time correctly assess the significance of developments taking place in the Soviet Union and the possibilities they open to Finland, we will voluntarily be resigning ourselves to lagging behind Europe.

Sinisalo is calling for a new kind of stance on the part of both Finnish Communists and the country's political and economic decision-makers toward the Soviet Union and practical socialism.

[Question] The 27th CPSU Congress, which has just come to an end, has been very commonly described as an "open" and "critical" one. The harshness of the criticism has even given rise to a bit of confusion: One wonders whether things are really going so badly over there. How would you yourself evaluate this aspect of the congress?

[Answer] The CPSU has for some time now been doing its job in a new way which has indeed been marked by extreme candor and a critical attitude with respect to problems. This has not only been a feature characteristic of the statements of the party's top leaders; it indeed applies to the entire rank and file of the party and beyond the Soviet society as well.

It has become evident in the efforts of, among others, the CPSU's Karelian party organization, which is close to us and which has had its own very critical attitude toward the mistakes that have been made.

It is, in my opinion, understandable that this critical attitude also raises questions: Can it be wrongly exploited in the West and what kind of international effects does it have, since it is without a doubt changing into an established way of handling the work of the party in the CPSU and elsewhere as well.

Actually, it is wrong to speak of a "new" [way of doing things] inasmuch as this critical approach consisting of radical reappraisals in a new situation is an old Bolshevik tradition. In this sense we might even speak of the return to Bolshevik tradition to which party leader Mikhail Gorbachev indeed alluded in his closing speech.

Thus, for example, the criticism Lenin leveled in the 1920's at the political way of operating practiced until then and the sharp line he drew quickly come to mind. Indeed, "Gorbachevism" is the Leninism of today.

## Transitional Phase

[Question] One of the key terms at the congress was "transitional phase," which was used to describe the present phase of development in both the Soviet Union and the entire world. What do you understand this to mean?

[Answer] Two very different things are involved when we speak of a transitional phase of development in the Soviet Union or elsewhere in the world, even though they are linked with one another.

As for the Soviet Union, by this we mean a situation that has arisen between a slowdown in the country's rate of development, on the one hand, and, on the other, an enormous economic potential. It is no accident that, in addition to criticism of the mistakes that have been made, the importance of what has already been achieved was emphasized at the congress as the basis for everything that is to be built. Transition now means the accelerated raising of the economic level by rapid leaps and bounds and implementation of the scientific-technical revolution in Soviet society in the broadest sense of the word. The program for the deeper implantation of social democracy through which people will noticeably more vigorously than before participate in the development of Soviet society from jobs to the machinery of state is also transitional in nature.

Such a change has to begin with the party itself, its way of operating, as has already happened. It has since expanded to affect the life of the state and is now -- undoubtedly in a difficult process too -- penetrating the whole society.

The fact that they intend to achieve the same for national income and the national product in 15 years time as they did during the entire period of development of the Soviet state to date perhaps best reflects the dimensions of the change.

In the international sense, on the other hand, by transition we mean putting a stop to the destructive arms spiral, a situation in which there is no longer really any course but one to choose.

## How Does It Affect Us?

[Question] When we speak of a transitional phase in world development, it also directly affects us. In what ways?

[Answer] The difference between now and before is perhaps precisely the fact that the CPSU more clearly than before has reached the conclusion that security can no longer be increased through arms and armament, but that political solutions must become the dominant factor in building security.

Nor can security any longer be only one country's security; rather the security interests of the United States and the Soviet Union are linked with one another, just as are the security interests of the whole world. Therefore, there can no longer be winners or losers not only in wars, but in building security either, only winners, as there can be only losers in wars.

On a still broader scale: Armament is linked with the whole world's social development. U.S. arms have served as an incentive to exploitation of the Third World countries. Thus armament and economic and social development are more and more closely intertwined with one another.

We might speak of security at a new level, of a totally integrated security policy program, and it was precisely this that was proposed at the congress in addition to other measures.

From the standpoint of us Finns, this way of presenting the problem opens entirely new possibilities. When the focal point shifts from arms to politics, our opportunities for taking action increase. As concerns Finland, this should lead to political activism both in terms of our usual initiatives -- like the Nordic nuclear-free zone -- and of the fact that we must seek new ones. We might say that the field of political promotion of international security and cooperation is once again more open than it has been for a long time now. We must now at least keep up with the situation, seek a place for our readiness to assume the initiative in it.

We may say that the way in which Finland responds to this new situation and the possibilities it opens to us will determine our international status in the future.

#### Economic Challenges

[Question] Soviet economic challenges are, as you said, indeed big ones. What kinds of possibilities do they open to us?

[Answer] First of all, we would have to familiarize ourselves with the new directions the Soviet economy is moving in and with where its focal points will be. We still occupy a special position with regard to Soviet trade and the acceleration of scientific-technical development in the Soviet Union is especially well-suited to our own challenges, and why not our dreams.

Only it is somewhat distressing to see how Finland is right now making overtures to the West without anyone's in the final analysis having a clearcut idea of what will come of them -- or at least no one publicly says it.

Nevertheless, when we take a concrete look at the situation, the Kola project, for example, in particular would open great possibilities to us, but realizing them would also presuppose greater activism. We have the impression that this project is somewhat mistakenly understood to be "solely" a Northern Finland project, whereas the whole country would certainly benefit financially from it.

In my opinion, there would be no mistake either in a joint readiness by the Nordic countries to assume the initiative in the Soviet trade. We have traditionally reacted with a bit of reserve to such prospects, but in connection with this it might perhaps be desirable to adopt a broader position, particularly since, in some things, alone we are too small a partner in cooperation for the big challenges presented by the Soviet markets. In this matter there is also the security policy factor: the intertwining of economic cooperation and security with one another which Gorbachev so strongly emphasized.

I would like to again go back to Finland's foreign policy role. More than many others, we have experience in the practical applications of peaceful coexistence. Why shouldn't we now really vigorously bring our know-how into play since the demand for it is growing?

We have, for example, made some political overtures in our relations with the underdeveloped countries these past few years. We must get this activism to serve the totally integrated perspective the CPSU security program opens to us. It is an opportunity to take the floor in a much broader forum than just the CPSU.

#### No Longer Better to Rely on Outdated Information

[Question] It seems to me that we are also in a new situation with respect to the Soviet Union and news reporting on practical socialism. What conclusions have you yourself drawn on this matter?

[Answer] While nonsocialist propaganda is indeed still a bit confused with regard to what is happening in the Soviet Union, it is quite clear that it will at least try to use the openness of Soviet discussion to its advantage. Through the efforts of the Tauno Tiusanens criticism will be applied to demonstrate the omnipotence of capitalism.

This will impose new challenges on us. First of all, we must raise the level of our knowledge of Soviet society, its achievements and plans for an entirely new standard of living. We must recognize its shortcomings and be aware of its prospects.

Without exaggerating, I say that the prospects in, for example, the field of economic development are breathtaking. In Khrushchev's time they spoke of beating the United States in economic development and at the time there was no limit [to what could be achieved] in their speeches. Now the same prospect is linked with a critical self-searching and out of it too a realistic attitude toward the attainment of goals is growing.

This is why the news media in particular must be capable of properly understanding this new openness of Soviet discussion. The Finnish-Soviet Society (SNS) has a lot of work to do in this area: how it may take note of the new challenges in its own news reporting and substantially improve on it. I say this too as a member of that organization's central committee.

#### Iron Curtain

To be sure, this does not involve only the SNS. Aside from Finnish editors' knowledge of the Soviet Union, that of politicians and others who actively participate in our national life needs to be increased.

I am greatly distressed by the fact that a sort of iron curtain has been placed in front of the Soviet Union in the field of news reporting in Finland. We turn to the West and the Nordic countries, largely remaining silent as to what is really happening in the Soviet Union and how it affects us.

It is high time for us to realize that we can no longer in connection with this live a civilized life with outdated reports and notions. If we fall off the sled in our knowledge of the Soviet Union, we drop out of what is most essential in terms of world developments.

The decrease in the status of the Russian language in school instruction is an indication of true shortsightedness. We have had a rare talent for studying the wrong language at the wrong time at different turning points in the history of the world. Before the wars, almost only German was studied in Finland, whereas we should have studied Russian and English. We study only English now when, with more and more diverse internationalization of the world, we should be increasing our study of Russian and why not also of other languages.

Whether we know Russian here or not will not make any difference to the Soviet Union. We are completely free to live in any behind-the-times state we choose to. But in my opinion, we ourselves should strive to live up to the standards of modern civilization.

SKP and CPSU

[Question] After the congress there was speculation in some People's Democratic newspapers -- primarily really only in those -- that the CPSU's position with regard to the situation in the SKP had changed somewhat. Is there any truth in this?

[Answer] It's very easy for me to answer that question. In the SKP we know, and we underline the fact, that the CPSU has once again announced that it will pursue its traditional policy with regard to the SKP and its problems. No re-appraisal has been made.

New Way and Finnish Communists

[Question] The CPSU has changed its way of operating. Should Finnish Communists reassess their way of conducting party operations?

[Answer] Whether there may be a reason for doing so or not, the role and example of the CPSU will certainly also introduce a new way of operating here among us. I would think that this will not require any great speeches. People will to a certain extent themselves adopt the new ways of doing things when familiarity with them and the sense they make increase and become ingrained.

But we undeniably have our own needs as well. More urgently than ever, we need openness, a critical attitude and we need to speak the honest truth. In connection with this, I would cite Gorbachev's description of activities:

"There must not be organizations in the party that are outside the control of the party, that are excluded from criticism, and there must not be leaders who are spared responsibility for the party."

In my opinion, these words also very well apply to the situation in the SKP.

Aalto on Moscow Visit

Helsinki VIIKKOLEHTI in Finnish 15 Mar 86 pp 10-11

[Interview with SKP chairman Arvo Aalto by Esa Alander and Jukka Parkkari, in Helsinki; date not given]

[Text] "We would certainly be pretty bad bunglers if we in the SKP were incapable of taking advantage of the worldwide interest that has been kindled with regard to socialism," said SKP chairman Arvo Aalto, who was enjoying the steam in our VIIKKOLEHTI sauna over a week after he had returned from the 27th CPSU Congress in Moscow.

In addition to his experiences in Moscow, chairman Aalto also offered his opinion on the SAK [Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions] general strike, of current interest, the basic reason for which he asserted to be the political stupidity of STK [Finnish Employers Association] leaders.

[Question] A little over a week ago you arrived from Moscow where you had participated in the 27th CPSU Congress as the leader of the SKP delegation. Now you have certainly had time to ponder the outcome of that lengthy congress. How would you briefly summarize the most important results of the congress?

[Answer] Of course, the most important result is the decisiveness with which the congress set about protecting human life's chances of continuing to exist in the world. The congress came to the conclusion that the conflict between socialism and capitalism cannot be resolved through war. That is why nuclear warfare must be irrevocably consigned to history as a means for settling disputes.

The congress guidelines and resolutions challenge us to resolve the problems of our industrialized society in a way in which not a single capitalist system has been able to do. The question is how first-line science and technology can be subordinated to serve people under conditions that protect the natural balance.

Thinking in terms of the internal development of the Soviet Union, the question is how socialist relations can be gotten to correspond to the execution of that enormous task. There are problems to be solved that have to do with socialist property relations, the distribution of income and socialist democracy, with everything that is done to benefit people.

Improvement of Relations Between the SKP and the CPSU

[Question] What reverberations will the CPSU congress resolutions have on the international communist movement and, for example, on relations between the SKP and the CPSU?

[Answer] When the Soviet Union sets itself the goal of preventing nuclear war and destroying nuclear weapons, it at the same time demonstrates its readiness to enter into agreements with the United States and all nations having nuclear weapons.

Thinking in common sense terms, achieving this goal will, however, require more than agreements between nations. It will need to be backed by worldwide public opinion and people's activism extending in very many directions. It is perfectly clear that the question arises on the basis of this premise as to what sort of contribution the international communist movement can offer and how united it is.

It should have been made clear at the latest at the Berlin congress in 1976 that the international communist movement is capable of united action based on the principles of recognition of each party's independence and noninterference in the internal affairs of others. The resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress reinforce all these principles. They are very clearly expressed and without reservations.

It is quite clear that how the international communist movement's desire for unity can be realized must also be specifically determined. Interest in such questions will grow after this congress.

Kivimaki Knew What the Contents of the Invitation Was

[Question] The SKP delegation's trip to Moscow gave rise to widespread public commotion. Has Erkki Kivimaki already explained why he did not want to participate in the CPSU congress?

[Answer] It may be that he has explained why, but I have not yet succeeded in hearing those explanations.

The fact is, however, that Kivimaki was unambiguously and clearly informed as to the contents of the CPSU invitation. It was made clear that they could not think of appointing Sinisalo and Kajanoja, who are right now very concretely occupied with the SKP split, to the delegation.

It was only after that, when Kivimaki gave his consent without any dodging, that he was chosen to be a member of the delegation.

Kivimaki nevertheless stayed home. But, as I said, I have not yet heard an explanation.

Is the SKP Threatened with Narrow-Mindedness?

[Question] At the CPSU congress the importance of candor was stressed. In Finland claims have been made that intolerance, narrow-mindedness and refusal to accept criticism have gained more of a foothold in the SKP than before. How do you view the situation?

[Answer] When you have to settle an internal situation by organizational means, it may exude narrowness. A settlement is in itself a tough job.

The SKP's internal situation has been made to conform to what is required by the rules so that there may be genuine and real freedom to think in different ways and have different opinions in the party, that in the party people's different experiences with life and their different kinds of knowledge may come into contact with one another and that we may forge a common will out of them, a class will -- common action.

## Interest in Socialism

[Question] You took a kind of week-long course in party reform in Moscow. Will Gorbachev's influence also be evident in leading the SKP?

[Answer] Gorbachev's presentation and the congress itself certainly restored to many people their faith in the possibilities afforded by socialism. And certainly too, we would be pretty much bunglers if we in the SKP were incapable of taking advantage of the worldwide interest that has been kindled in socialism.

The SKP's own status in our society will be largely determined by the vigor it can muster to recover and get on its feet again. Since the 20th Congress, we have been able to set in motion a positive development and very unequivocally and clearly pushing this development forward is now on the agenda. We have every opportunity to do this.

## STK Leaders Led It into a General Strike

[Question] When this interview took place (Wednesday), we were on the eve of the SAK general strike. Is something new and really significant taking place in our country's political climate now?

[Answer] Actually, it has already happened. It has been a long time since workers have come to listen to what SAK leaders have to say with as much active participation as at present. This is a concrete sign that something has changed.

The general strike is a consequence of STK political leaders' stupidity. Since it forces the SAK to resort to its mass strength to carry out its objectives, the consequences will be far-reaching and disturbing.

In the end, the final outcome of the strike will, of course, influence the kind of development process we have. But many things that have been stagnant for a long time now will be set in motion. That's for sure.

Now we have to make new history. The time for interpreting it will be later.

## Aalto on Coalition Participation

Helsinki KANSAN UUTiset in Finnish 22 Mar 86 p 21

[Commentary: "SKP Chairman Arvo Aalto on Government Plans: Government's Conservative Tendency Is Keeping SKDL from Participating"]

[Text] Speaking in Kemi on Friday, SKP chairman Arvo Aalto confirmed the fact that the SKP and SKDL's [Finnish People's Democratic League] principled position on a Left-Center government coalition is still valid.

According to him, there is no reason to change their position. Arvo Aalto, however, refuted recent conjectures regarding People's Democratic efforts to get into the government.

"The basically conservative tendency of the government's policy at this time poses an obstacle to this," Aalto said.

Articles by the same source on SKDL participation in the government which have appeared in several capital city newspapers have recently touched off basic support for reports spread with specific purposes in mind. It is interesting to note that the newspapers engaged in the campaign are those most zealously opposed -- for different reasons -- to the growth of SKDL influence in Finnish society and also to People's Democratic and Communist participation in the government.

UUSI SUOMI is working to open the government's doors to the Conservative Party and to exclude the SKDL from exercising any real social influence. As for TIEDONANTAJA, it has once again fallen into the trap of its own inconsistency. The paper has gone to a lot of trouble to demonstrate that the SKP and the SKDL are already isolated in our society. Now, however, TIEDONANTAJA is sounding the alarm because the People's Democratic movement has been able to achieve results with its responsible, cooperative approach that benefit wage-earners and "the worst": the SKDL's admission to the government "is imminent," according to TIEDONANTAJA.

#### Isolation Fails

The articles appearing in big capital's chief organ and the newspapers of the group that is trying to disrupt the People's Democratic movement bear witness to the same thing: They have failed in their attempts. The Conservative Party has not been able to penetrate the government and the activities of those who are trying to disrupt the People's Democratic movement have not isolated the SKP and the SKDL," Aalto affirmed.

UUSI SUOMI and TIEDONANTAJA's speculations are based on People's Democratic activities during the SAK wage agreement negotiations. SAK members and other wage-earners know better. The Communists and the People's Democrats operate independently in the SAK leadership -- they are not remote-controlled terminals of the party leaders -- and their decisions are based on a principled approach according to which united worker action produces the best results. The SAK general strike once again demonstrated that this approach is the right one.

United action in the SAK was possible because of jointly established objectives, the methods agreed on to attain them and, of course, the content of the decision itself. The wage agreement was in no way connected with the government issue, which is not even of current interest.

#### Tendency of Government's Policy Is an Obstacle

"The basic tendency of the government's policy at this time poses an obstacle to People's Democratic movement participation in the government. The current government policy is based on the nonsocialist majority in Parliament, although the Social Democratic Party (SDP) is participating in the government to an extent corresponding to the Left's entire parliamentary strength.

"The government's policy does not pose any obstacles worth mentioning to the Conservative Party's participation in the government. It did not oppose the raising of the unemployment pension eligibility age limit from 55 to 60 nor does the decision recently made by the government transfer about a billion markkas a year from households to big enterprises by changing the tax on energy," Aalto said.

"The SKP and SKDL's in principle favorable stand on a Left-Center coalition is still valid and there is no reason to change it. It is just as obvious that the Communists and the People's Democrats cannot participate in a government that pursues a conservative policy. SKDL participation in the government would mean a change in course for government policy," Aalto said.

According to Aalto, the SKDL is entangled in the scramble involving the Finnish Rural Party (SMP), which is also in the government coalition. The SMP is getting in the way of the wheels of the government. The latter would like to get rid of it, but it will hardly succeed in doing so because of uncertainty with regard to SMP supporters, who are in a position to tip the scales in the elections. The SKDL is not an alternative to the SMP according to this way of thinking either, since the SKDL is not more a scale than it is a pointer on the scale. The SKDL is a consistently leftist force.

#### "No Immediate Change"

During the decision-reaching phases of the general strike the government improved the image of its policy a bit, but the energy tax decision again twisted its mouth into a grimace. We cannot expect an immediate change in the basic course of the government's policy.

According to Aalto, the Conservative Party and the SDP are trying to raise the government question as the main issue in the election campaign that is being launched. They are trying to turn the elections into a race between themselves for the position of biggest party. The Communists and People's Democrats are, on the other hand, first and foremost interested in the substance of policy -- after the elections as well.

"We want to change a conservative policy that enriches banks and big companies, promotes the accumulation of wealth and favors the exportation of capital. The present policy stems from the nonsocialist world of values. While the nation's material wealth has increased, a policy like the present one is incapable of reducing unemployment or preventing an increase in social problems. Quite the contrary, the impoverishment of the poor and the enrichment of the rich are an inevitable consequence of the current policy."

The substance of the Left's policy is solidarity and a socialistic attitude as well as increasing citizens' opportunities to exert their influence directly. "Workers must be made decision-makers in business enterprises," chairman Aalto said.

SDP Cool Toward CP

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 18 Mar 86 p 7

[Article by Olavi Jouslehto: "SDP Is Not Warming Up Despite Concord with Labor Movement; Communists Already Knocking at Government Door"]

[Text] The SKP, headed by Arvo Aalto, views its internal situation as having become so stabilized that it is ready to try to get into the government after the elections.

The SKP also laid the foundation for this return in supporting the wage agreement between the SAK and the STK produced at the end of last week.

In the SDP the Communists' moderate behavior was noted with satisfaction.

The SDP is, however, not building too much on the belief that some political issues might be better resolved if the SKDL were in the government as a support for the SDP.

Nor is the Communists' moderate wage policy line just paving the way into the government either. According to SKP leaders, the party's labor unionists were simply so satisfied with the wage agreement that they did not want to continue the strike. The SKP was not assured of its people's willingness to strike.

However, the SKP minority faction interprets the moderate Communist labor unionists' behavior as being nothing but accommodation of the government.

No Obstacles, No Advantages

In the current government parties they do not take it for granted that the SKDL will begin a stretch in the government even though the SKDL does assure us of its desire to cooperate. For example, Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa's (Social Democrat) demands for increasing economic democracy depend more on the composition of Parliament than on the balance of power in the government.

In the SDP they operate on the assumption that, for example, the doors to the boards of directors of the banks can be opened to government representatives only when the SDP has convinced the nonsocialists of the need for the undertaking.

On the other hand, there are no other obstacles to the SKDL's joining the government but those having to do with power politics. For example, the official coolness between the SKP and the CPSU is not viewed as having a decisive effect on the SKDL's competence to serve in the government.

"Communists and SMP Tolerate One Another"

Both SKP first secretary Esko Vainionpaa and SMP chairman Pekka Vennamo assure us that, as far as they are concerned, the two parties can be in the same government "if they reach agreement on the platform."

In both parties they also feel that their policies clearly share some things in common.

But there are differences as well. SKP leaders obligingly promise Sorsa that they will support implementation of a redistribution of bank board of director posts and seeing to it that there are government representatives on the boards.

However, SMP chairman Pekka Vennamo is not enthused over this increase in democracy. He would also give seats on company boards of directors to company workers, but not to outright government representatives.

Vennamo is not convinced that economic democracy would be increased in the right way if "people other than [those attending] stockholders' meetings" were to participate in the selection of company boards of directors.

#### Hauling Them over the Coals, but Scarcely Changes

The Communists will scarcely have even a theoretical chance of getting into the government before this session of Parliament is over since the government will probably continue to operate with its present composition until the elections.

The only real threat of a government crisis that would have a telling effect on one group of ministers might be a situation in which the employment bill is not passed during the spring session.

This would hardly lead to the SMP's leaving the government since that would only promote the development hoped-for by the SKDL, one that would replace the SMP with the Communists in the government after the elections.

Postelection coalitions will, of course, depend on whether parliamentary balances of power between the various nonsocialist parties substantially change.

The SDP will obviously be the government party to keep our eyes on after the elections, even if support for it should to some extent diminish.

#### Planning or Idle Gossip?

Social Democratic leaders have had discussions with Communist leaders on issues involving cooperation in the Left.

In the SKP they readily give the impression that the two parties discussed the matter seriously last January. And that their discussions with the SDP would also influence the Communists' behavior.

The Social Democrats, on the other hand, say that contacts made with the SKP are part of their normal contacts, which are also made with other parties.

In both parties of the Left they nevertheless stress the fact that questions of support and cooperation in the Left are key issues in discussions between the two parties.

Whether the SDP needs the Communists in the government is, however, a different matter.

#### Aalto Doubts Government Role

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 22 Mar 86 p 11

[Article: "Aalto Explains: Communists Are Not Now Trying to Get into the Government"]

[Text] On Friday SKP chairman Arvo Aalto refuted conjectures concerning current Communist desires to get into the government. In Kemi Aalto said that the SKP and the SKDL still in principle take a favorable view of a Left-Center government coalition and that there is no reason to change that position, but that the basically conservative tendency of current government policy is at this time keeping the SKDL from trying to get into the government.

Aalto alluded to articles on SKDL participation in the government that have appeared in UUSI SUOMI and TIEDONANTAJA and remarked that these "newspapers that have engaged in a campaign" are those that most vehemently of all oppose an increase in SKDL influence in Finnish society and also People's Democratic and Communist participation in the government.

In Aalto's opinion, the papers' speculations are based on the behavior of the People's Democrats during the SAK wage agreement negotiations. According to Aalto, the Communists operate independently in the SAK leadership, "not as remote-controlled terminals of the party leaders," and their decisions are based on a principled approach, according to which united worker action produces the best results. The wage agreement was in no way connected with the government issue, which is not even of current interest, Aalto assured us.

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ULF SUNDQVIST RETURNING TO SORSA LOYALTY

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 21 Mar 86 pp 54-55,57

[Article by Tuomo Lappalainen: "Sorsa's Man in Elections: Ulf Sundqvist Has Made Surprising Return to Politics in Support Group for Kalevi Sorsa's Parliamentary Election Campaign"]

[Text] One of the persistent myths about Finnish politicians is the notion, inherited from the distant 1970s, that there is more or less room for improvement in the relationship between Kalevi Sorsa and Ulf Sundqvist, two power brokers of the Social Democratic Party. Not that long ago, there was even wild speculation that "Uffe" might push Sorsa into the background.

Thus many political experts must have rubbed their eyes once or twice after they saw Sundqvist's brief article on the opinion page of DEMARI a couple of months back.

Just the article's headline--Sorsa as Parliamentary Representative and Prime Minister--caused several people to choke on their toast. And when the praise continued to pile up in the text itself, where Sundqvist, among other things, considered the prime minister's governmental and parliamentary work beneficial to both residents of Helsinki and the entire country, they spilled coffee all over their shirts.

Astonishment finally took the form of a simple question: what induced the former minister, party secretary, parliamentary representative, and current president of the Finnish Workers' Savings Bank (STS) to leave his spacious and tasteful workroom and to head Sorsa's support group?

Ulf Sundqvist replies:

"It is best this way, especially with respect to the next party congress of the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Sorsa still has a lot to give to all of us. If he should now consider retirement, too many things would be left unfinished--and there is no suitable successor on the horizon.

"Linked to this is an old tradition which I hope would continue, namely, that the SDP chairman simultaneously serves in Parliament. And in that case, of course, efforts must be made on behalf of his candidacy. I know from personal experience that it is hard for both a chairman and a party secretary to conduct his own

election campaign when, at the same time, he is supposed to be available first and foremost to the party and the entire country."

To be on the safe side, Sundqvist points out he consistently advocated the view within the SDP that when the party is in the government, the post of prime minister belongs to the party chairman.

"Many people believe that especially in multiparty governments a sharper distinction should be made between the party role and the government role. In practice, however, that is pretty difficult."

"Yes, People Listen to Me"

When he moved almost 5 years ago from the citadel of the State Council across Pitkasilta to what was then the main office of the Finnish Workers' Savings Bank, Ulf Sundqvist predicted that the job change would in no way mean his withdrawal from the limelight of politics.

The departing minister of trade and industry and party secretary knew what he was talking about.

Now he says:

"Even after I left day-to-day politics, I have followed it closely all the time. If you like, however, the presidency of STS can be considered a social task, too. Here, after all, I have a veritable box seat in the heart of the labor movement."

It goes without saying that one avenue Sundqvist has for maintaining contact is a direct link to the prime minister himself, even though the men no longer "collaborate as closely as before." Their feelings and viewpoints run more and more in the same direction.

Is it possible to speak about some sort of advisory relationship?

"If you're thinking about economic policy in general, you must remember that Sorsa has a genuine army of experts to help him, starting with his own brother. Besides, I'm no expert on general economics.

"But if it comes down to issues involving labor activity or banking business--even energy policy, which I took an interest in as chairman of Neste's advisory board--then, yes, people listen to me."

To the Right of Center

With respect to Sorsa and Sundqvist, the similarity of viewpoints today means that both are situated to the right of center on the SDP's internal color map. The process which Sundqvist links to "both maturity and change of position" has done its job.

"On the other hand, I don't know how sensible it is to make comparisons like that in the present day's Social Democratic Party--at least in the same sense

as in the 1970s when an authentic change of direction took place," argues the bank president. "The most important line of division now runs between traditional social democrats and budding socialists."

Ulf Sundqvist admits he himself belongs among the former.

"At least in the sense that I support economic growth, controlled and benevolent, of course, but in any case growth. In other words, I still see great opportunities to continue the buildup of industrial society. There has arisen in opposition to this the unflinching and as such respectable view that growth is a secondary issue."

Is it possible that the rest of Kalevi Sorsa's staunchest backers are specifically traditional social democrats?

"Undoubtedly you can put it that way. After all, it's no longer news that certain activists in both youth and women's organizations would rather bring him down than support him."

### Strike Has Wrong Goals

The recent split within the SDP has been seen most clearly perhaps in the ongoing debate over the new platform draft. In this debate, women and youths have spoken at times in a surprisingly critical vein.

Sundqvist disclosed his own views on the guiding principles of social democracy as early as August 1977 when he urged the SDP, whose work on the platform had gotten off to a slow start, to formulate an independent "Eurosocialist" alternative as a counterbalance to Eurocommunism, which was then in its heyday.

Did his wish come true?

"Well, in recent times there has been no discussion along precisely those lines," Sundqvist points out. "But the concept as such is not all that far-fetched. It can be said that in many senses the platform draft represents modern Western social democratic thinking. In the international socialist arena, ideological and economic issues have recently been debated more than before. It is evident, of course, that this debate has had a considerable impact on the SDP."

Sundqvist is particularly pleased with his party's efforts to find new mechanisms for making decisions and exerting influence. In his opinion, the tendency toward "self-directed activity which rests on a firm belief in the ability of individuals to make rational decisions" represents social democracy at its purest. The higher the level of culture rises, the more concretely people should be allowed to use their knowledge in making decisions.

This is the impression one gets: the STS president hopes that out of the work on the SDP platform there will occasionally emerge opportunities for a discussion of the special funds which are centrally linked to the reshaping of economic life, a discussion temporarily hampered by a "needless and effusive display of sentiment" as well as by a "narrow fixation on existing goals."

Sundqvist believes we have a good chance to make pragmatic progress, provided that the discussants are allowed enough elbowroom for creative thought. The process requires a great deal of broadmindedness, however, from employers and employees alike.

"Everyone who has an opportunity to become familiar with modern theories of management first encounters the concept of commitment. The most important task is to get all the workers to commit themselves to established goals. The workers are the primary resource of every service enterprise.

"On the other hand, I have often wondered why the Finnish trade-union movement doesn't show greater interest in these matters. When I was involved in politics, I noticed that the conditions were not right for bringing about a debate on how to increase worker participation in the administrative and decisionmaking processes of an enterprise. Right now workers are striking over the length of the workweek, but not a word is spoken about making the work world more democratic. Yet at the very least that is an equally significant issue during the era of opportune structural change."

"It Is Good That Socialism Was Abandoned"

It is useless to look for socialism, the cloven hoof which wears Finland down, in Ulf Sundqvist's position on financial matters. That is to say, it simply does not exist. Uffe has suffered so much spiritual damage during his years as bank director that he is grateful, for example, when the question of socialization is consigned to history in the SDP's internal debate.

Yet the old enthusiasm for radicalism still exists in the man to such a degree that the "adoption of a business-economy mindset, which is a necessary part of the current job," has not turned him into a fanatical admirer of privatization.

Sundqvist is worried, for example, about the uncertainty over the future of state enterprises, something which was brought to public attention by the great forest war in the north.

"After all, up until now there has been relatively broad agreement on a pragmatic attitude toward state-enterprise activity and even its expansion in Finland. We can only hope that the same line--free of ideological sinuosities--will continue from now on. Otherwise, maintaining the investment level sufficiently high may prove to be overwhelming. Because again there are inevitable reflex effects in the private sector."

Sundqvist is unwilling to wager, however, where the consensus will next go amiss.

"The most important thing now is to bring about such a broad discussion of these developmental traits that we no longer end up with our backs against the wall in the future.

"In this connection, the state must henceforth take an active role in the acquisition of risk capital in order to assure adequate and competitive investment activity--not merely as a creator of opportunities but also as an investor.

Numerous examples of purposeful risktaking by states are to be found in Western countries even more capitalistic than Finland. For the most part, they are associated with new technological projects, but sometimes there is also a desire to consciously change the prevailing production structure."

#### Deepens Understanding of Concepts

Ulf Sundqvist talks about economic matters with such honest devotion that one is forced to believe his work in support of Sorsa's election is only a brief incursion into politics without further ulterior motives, for instance, a possible ministerial post, which in no way is a "timely issue" right now.

"I walked away from day-to-day politics after considerable reflection and on the basis of a job offer, and I have not regretted my choice for a single moment. On the contrary, I claim that I've been able to deepen my understanding of social concepts, if that is now important to anyone besides myself. I really have no plans other than to take care of this bank."

Yet a personal decision made almost 5 years ago does not prevent Sundqvist from "observing with consternation what emanates from Parliament and what language is used in this connection.

"I understand personal motives, because I have them myself. But I consider it mostly sad that people proceed to slander and belittle parliamentary democracy to the extent that they do.

"For the most part, this is, of course, a trend that will be reversed someday. But since I have devoted myself to many Nordic issues, I can confirm that in this regard Finland differs from the other countries, where this sort of anti-political attitude does not emerge."

Sundqvist feels one of the basic reasons for this is Finland's "ultraindividual" electoral system, which turns politics into an inordinate struggle between personalities and thereby lowers the level of the entire social debate.

"In Sweden, politics is a highly respected activity and a career on which one can embark in order to defend the common good instead of having to champion one's own affairs."

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## PROSPECTS FOR VAYRYNEN AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE VIEWED

### Vayrynen Remains Noncommittal

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 27 Mar 86 pp 29,31

[Article by Timo Anttila: "Silent Poker Face"]

[Text] Chairman Paavo Vayrynen is the Center Party membership's absolute favorite as the party's presidential candidate. Vayrynen is supported in 8 out of 10 local organizations. Party Chairman and Foreign Affairs Minister Vayrynen readily grants interviews at the present time, but he refuses to commit himself on the presidential question. On the other hand, when necessary, the foreign affairs minister heaps abuse on the Ministry of Environment.

When Vayrynen is asked about the presidential contest, he does not reply. His eyes twinkle and the corners of his mouth are seen to turn slightly upward, but nevertheless it cannot be claimed that the poker face of Paavo Vayrynen, experienced politician, gives anything away.

"I don't want to comment on the presidential issue at this stage," says Vayrynen.

Vayrynen's position in the Center Party is strong. Throughout the winter, the local organizations have pondered their response to a party bureau questionnaire about a suitable presidential candidate. The party bureau itself admits that Vayrynen is suggested as a presidential candidate in almost every reply.

Appreciation of Vayrynen as a politician has risen rapidly. He was one of the country's most reviled politicians just 5 years ago, a sort of Urpo Leppanen at the start of the 1980s. He was said to be an overnighter greedy for power. HELSINGIN SANOMAT caricaturist Kari pictured him as a little boy walking along with a pillow under his arm.

There is no longer any sign of the problems he had with the press. It was left unresolved whether Vayrynen gave in to the press or the press to Vayrynen. Or is his current public image the result of effective training in how to make a good appearance?

In any event, the Center Party wants to nominate Vayrynen as its presidential candidate. But how interested is he in running?

"I don't want to comment on the matter. It's up to the party to decide on a presidential candidate. The party decides how it will be done, when the candidate will be nominated, and who the candidate will be. It isn't proper for me to start offering my opinions on these matters," replies Vayrynen.

According to party bylaws, the Center Party's presidential candidate should be chosen at the party congress to be held in Lappeenranta in June. The party council, which meets at the end of April, proposes a presidential candidate to the party congress.

"It still isn't certain at all whether a presidential candidate will be nominated at the Lappeenranta congress. The party congress will decide on that. It is clear in any case that the party will put up its own candidate, as should all the major parties. It would be outrageous, in my opinion, to start looking for a joint candidate."

During the last presidential election, Vayrynen said that he was not old and experienced enough to be president. What about now? He turns 40 this year and has several more years of experience as a cabinet minister.

"I don't want to take a stand on issues like that right now," says Vayrynen, obviously annoyed. Yet he no longer replies that he is too young or inexperienced.

#### Conservative Party's Trump Card

People in the Center Party know that the party alone is not sufficiently strong to get its own man elected president. The help of others is needed.

After next spring's parliamentary elections, the Center Party should get its candidate into the prime minister's post, although serious thought would not be given to the presidential elections. It is also believed that the Center Party could buy support for its candidate from the Conservative Party by taking the Conservative Party into the government which will be formed after the elections.

Vayrynen rejects that kind of guesswork, however. "In my opinion, these matters should not be linked together. First the parliamentary elections are held and then the presidential elections. Both have their own issues," claims Vayrynen.

"After the elections, all the parties are at the same starting line. Of course, the election results will also influence the next government."

Nor does Vayrynen take a stand on whether the Center Party should receive the prime minister's post after the elections. It is symptomatic, however, that he counts on the middle-party bloc to compete with the Social Democrats for the position of largest group in the Parliament. Vayrynen alludes to an agreement reached in the autumn by which the Center Party, the Liberal People's Party, the Swedish People's Party, and the Christian League agree to cooperate.

#### SKDL Not Suitable for Government

According to Vayrynen, the most natural government base for the Center Party is still one whose framework is formed by the Social Democratic Party and the middle-party bloc.

"If that doesn't succeed, it is possible, of course, to form a government in which the middle parties and the Conservative Party participate. Such a government would be able to function if there was sufficient emphasis on the middle parties."

On the other hand, Vayrynen does not believe that the people's democrats would enter the government at the present time. "The communists withdrew from the government because their internal situation was such that they found it impossible to collaborate. The circumstances would not in principle change even if the communists formally split into two parties."

"A change has also occurred in the course of conduct of the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League]. The SKDL was once an independent political power which had its own will and profile. In recent times, the majority communists have collaborated very closely with the Social Democrats, and collaboration between the Center Party and the SKDL has run into trouble," says Vayrynen.

Vayrynen alludes to the SAK [Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions] general strike in which the Social Democrats and the majority communists were working together. He feels that in this situation the Social Democrats acted in a manner inappropriate for a government party.

"The Social Democrats were initiating a strike which on the surface appeared quite unnecessary. The agreement achieved would have been reached without using the crude weapon of the labor market. Up until now, it has been customary for government parties not to meddle in labor market negotiations by supporting a strike."

#### SMP Causes Friction

Vayrynen concedes that the conduct of the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] in the government and in the Parliament has caused problems. "It would be possible, for example, to reach a mutual understanding on the employment law if the SMP was willing to negotiate with its feet on the ground. It appears, right now at least, that Minister Leppanen does not even want a mutual understanding. Leppanen's demands are so preposterous that others cannot accept them," charges Vayrynen.

"Then again, it must be admitted that in the government the SMP has agreed with the middle parties on nearly all major issues. Except for the employment law, collaboration in the government has been substantially better than in the Parliament."

Nevertheless, Vayrynen has clearly been irritated by the SMP's activity. Vayrynen has long pondered whether the employment law was deliberately turned into a controversy. It is possible, in Vayrynen's opinion, that the Rural Party wants to get out of the government. If that is the case, the consequences are also clear.

"If some party, slamming the door shut, leaves the government and refuses to collaborate, then building up trust again will be difficult and will take time. Naturally, I cannot know what the future will bring, but if the SMP now slams the door shut on the government, then maybe it won't be reopened very soon."

## No Hurry for Large Power Plant

In the same Center Party survey where the local organizations are asked to name a suitable presidential candidate, they are also questioned about their stand on nuclear power. The survey is taken at a time when demands are being made in various quarters for construction of a new nuclear power plant or at least a large power plant.

In Vayrynen's opinion, there is plenty of time for making a decision on a large power plant. The Center Party first wants to resolve other matters concerning energy production, after which the debate on a large power plant can begin.

"We hold the very rigid view that no decisions can be made about large power plants until everything possible has been done to encourage the dispersed production of electricity and to conserve electricity."

By the dispersed production of electricity Vayrynen means smaller power plants, situated in various parts of the country, which would produce district heat in addition to electricity. It would be even better if the production was based on domestic fuels.

"Some people say that the decision on a large power plant should be made right now because of the trade deficit with the Soviet Union, among other reasons, but arguments to that effect are erroneous, in my view. Even if it was decided to order a large power plant today, years would elapse before the equipment was shipped and before the order began to affect the balance of trade with the Soviet Union."

Trade with the Soviet Union can be balanced more quickly by other arrangements, in Vayrynen's opinion. Among such arrangements, he lists the purchase of electricity and an increase in imported natural gas.

"It is clear that the decision on a large power plant must be made in due course, but there isn't any rush. I don't dare to say anything about the timetable at this stage, because everything depends on how quickly these other decisions can be made."

## Ministry of Environment Has Harmed Its Reputation

An increase in the number of peat power plants is included in the energy solutions which Vayrynen contemplates. Just a few weeks ago, however, the government decided to submit to the Parliament a waterfall protection law which would mean, upon enactment, that at least one significant peat power plant will remain only a dream.

Vayrynen is disturbed by application of the waterfall protection law to the entire Ii River. If the entire Ii River is safeguarded by the waterfall protection law even after discussion in the Parliament, the Kollaja artificial basin will not be realized. At the same time, the peat power plant which is planned in connection with the basin and with the hydroelectric power plant will not be realized.

"I still don't consider the decision on the Kollaja artificial basin final in any way. I'm confident that the bill will be modified in the Parliament."

In Vayrynen's opinion, the Kollaja basin is such an economically lucrative project that environmental protection viewpoints must give ground. "Kollaja is not the only case but it is the most visible one in which the environmental protectionists have not taken the whole picture into account."

"The Ministry of Environment has harmed its reputation by adopting a positive stand on practically any protection bill," claims Vayrynen. "People in the ministry are unable to perceive matters other than from the viewpoint of protection. The world of the Ministry of Environment is black-and-white."

#### Maturer Vayrynen Presidential Timber

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 27 Mar 86 pp 30-31

[Article by Jukka Ukkola: "Center Party's Kennedy"]

[Text] Vayrynen's troublesome years are behind him, and his future plans include first the prime ministership and then the presidency. The chairman's age is also reckoned an advantage: at the time of the presidential elections, he will be the same age John F. Kennedy was when the latter took office in 1960.

There no longer seem to be any obstacles in Paavo Vayrynen's path to the nomination as his party's presidential candidate. In all likelihood, he will be named the candidate at the party congress in Lappeenranta this June.

There is no one in the Center Party who figures to compete with Vayrynen for the nomination.

The battle between Dr Johannes Virolainen and Dr Ahti Karjalainen during the last elections is history, and Virolainen has announced his support for Vayrynen's candidacy.

Ahti Pekkala, who had long been the second most conspicuous and active member of the Center Party, stepped aside to become governor of the Oulu administrative district. The party's number two man at the present moment, Finance Minister Esko Ollila, has the charisma needed for major offices, but he hardly desires to compete with Vayrynen: at most he aspires to be Vayrynen's successor in the party or to remain in a position of leadership in economic life.

The Center Party's membership is now united behind Vayrynen in a way which has not been seen in a major party since the days of Urho Kekkonen.

"The others are not even in the running," says party council member and Rantsila municipal counselor Eino Tolonen, the prototypical Center Party member from whom one is accustomed to hear no-holds-barred speeches at party congresses.

"If some diehard suggests someone else, it's only an individual stab in the dark. The hordes are behind Vayrynen. For us it is more clear-cut than the Kekkonen case. Kekkonen was all-powerful, but his crises were much greater than Vayrynen's."

## Vayrynen's Trial Heats

Vayrynen's presidential pipe was not officially taken out of its package until the Center Party executive committee decided last year to place the candidate issue on the agenda of this summer's party congress.

The basic organizations will be asked until the end of March whether, in their opinion, a presidential candidate should be nominated and, if so, who. Most of the responses will undoubtedly be for Vayrynen. On the basis of these responses, the party council will make a proposal at the end of April to the party congress. It is possible in principle that a proposal will not be made, but in practice there is hardly any doubt about it.

Although few Center Party members believe that Vayrynen can win the 1988 elections --against Mauno Koivisto at least--the trial heats are considered a necessary exercise.

According to Tolonen, Vayrynen will be turned into a serious--but not too serious--candidate. "As long as Mauno doesn't do anything foolish, his chances of serving a second term are good. Only if he loses support will there be an opportunity for surprises. In that case, it will be necessary to have a fairly good man to put in his place, even someone young."

## Teachable Young Man

In recent times, Vayrynen's halo has become substantially brighter on the home field. In the eyes of his supporters, he has shed his congenital defects, his eternal youthfulness, his blatant upstartness, and his tendency to boast. They feel he has acquired self-restraint, circumspection, robustness, and has learned how to present himself in public.

"It got me to thinking a few years ago at the jubilee meeting in Lahti when he was making a laughingstock of himself in front of television journalists," relates Tolonen. "I said that you ought to learn to say things in such a way that they can't print them, or so skillfully that they have to believe you.

"And doesn't he give skillful answers now when reporters prod him with questions about foreign policy? With a vacant look and without getting nervous, he just faintly smiles and says that there are so many things to take into account and that we here in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have a somewhat different viewpoint from other people.

"This is the policy that you should be aware of what you're saying. Let's thank Vayrynen for starting to become aware of things."

## Raised Profile

In foreign policy, the field of responsibility most important to the president and the foreign affairs minister, the focus of attention has recently shifted from relations with the Soviet Union to refugee policy, the Near East, and aid to developing countries.

On all these issues, Vayrynen has come before the public in a way which can, if so desired, be interpreted as firm. The Finns presented their own viewpoint at the Nordic Council's debate on refugees, and in Israel Vayrynen adhered to Finland's PLO policy.

He has raised his profile in domestic policy, particularly in regional issues, by working visibly and to the satisfaction of Center Party backers on agreements with lumber companies in northern Finland, on environmental protection questions, and even on certain local appointments to office.

He is no longer ridiculed the way he was 2 or 3 years ago.

#### Quiet Napoleon

Vayrynen turns 40 this year. "It's a good age. I myself have mellowed since that age," says Tolonen, 65. "At that time, I was still the kind of guy who wouldn't let all the snivelers sit around and vegetate. Only now have I become quiet and tolerant."

He points out that John F. Kennedy became president of the United States at age 42. "He was a tough guy. Even though he was a capitalist, he understood that everyone should live.

"Kekkonen once said that if you intend to be a Napoleon, then you must be a little bit of a Napoleon. Otherwise it doesn't work. There's a little of that in Paavo --maybe he wants it that way. But he is a quiet Napoleon and a very talented man," says Tolonen, describing his candidate.

#### Become Prime Minister First

Center Party members know, however, that no matter how talented a man Vayrynen is, his advancement as a candidate from here on in will be very arduous.

Koivisto is still in a strong position if he decides to run for office.

If Koivisto withdraws, the Social Democratic Party has another powerful man, Prime Minister and Chairman Kalevi Sorsa, who is said to be the world's leading social democrat after Olof Palme.

The nonsocialists are in disarray and appear unable, for the time being at least, to gather behind a common rival candidate. Ilkka Suominen, Harri Holkeri, or Erkki Pystynen are not among the world's leading nonsocialists, nor is Vayrynen perhaps the world's top centrist, even though his career is admired as far away as Israel.

In order to pave the way, the Center Party makes the argument that the next government's prime minister should be a centrist, in other words, Vayrynen. It is the opinion in Center Party circles that if the SAK general strike had been "taken seriously" or if it had toppled the government, a nonsocialist Center Party government would have been formed in this country.

It is assumed by party members that after a Vayrynen prime ministership the position of nonsocialists in the presidential contest will also change.

Even though the Center Party wants to collaborate with the Conservatives, the transfer of support to a Conservative Party presidential candidate is considered impossible.

According to that logic, the Conservatives should rally behind a Center Party candidate in opposition to Sorsa. People consider Sorsa a skillful prime minister who is, however, "too conspicuous an ideologist" to be able to inherit Koivisto's popularity.

The nonsocialist Vayrynen front is convinced that Ilkka Suominen has not severely criticized Vayrynen but, on the contrary, has occasionally praised him. It is believed in the party that others, too, would commend Vayrynen's handling of foreign affairs if he was not chairman of the Center Party.

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POLITICAL

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# PAPER SEES LITTLE THREAT TO TRADITIONAL PARTIES FROM GREENS

## Prominent Politicians' Candidacies Rejected

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 28 Mar 86 p 3

[Article: "Women Rejected SDP's Offer, Tuomioja and Bjorklund Attempted To Join Greens"]

[Text] The Green movement did not accept Erkki Tuomioja (Social Democrat) and Nordic Council General Secretary and former SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] member Ilkka-Christian Bjorklund as candidates in next spring's parliamentary elections.

The information about Bjorklund's and Tuomioja's aspirations is rather conflicting. Tuomioja denies that was going to run in the elections as a candidate for the Greens, and Bjorklund was not available for comment on Thursday.

According to the information obtained from the Greens, Tuomioja and Bjorklund did, however, express their desire to be placed as candidates on the ballots of the Greens around Christmas.

Their candidacy was rejected in "certain unofficial discussions" held after Christmas, say sources among the Greens.

### "Labelled Men"

According to the account, Bjorklund's and Tuomioja's candidacies would have been rejected in the final count as the result of opposition from female Greens in Uusimaa and Helsinki. The women fear for their own positions and the more caustic among them would be prepared to reject the nomination of such a "public figure" as Osmo Soininvaara as a candidate.

According to some Greens, the acceptance of Bjorklund and Tuomioja on their ballots was opposed also for the reason that they have been labelled according to their parties.

In the opinion of the Greens, the same cannot be said of Paavo Nikula, the former vice-chairman of the Liberal People's Party, who has since become a Green.

On the other hand, some Greens considered that it is better if there are people with a "green tint" in the other parties also and not to have everyone in the Green movement.

However, it is said that Soininvaara was in favor of Tuomioja's candidacy. It is said that Soininvaara supported Tuomioja's placement on the ballot in spite of the fact that Tuomioja would probably take away his own seat in parliament.

#### Paper Pessimistic on Prospects

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 29 Mar 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Greens Will Not Be A Passing Fad"]

[Text] In the parliamentary elections 3 years ago the Greens succeeded in obtaining two seats in parliament. In the 1984 municipal elections the Greens were elected to a total of 29 municipal councils. The Green movement, which has remained rather invisible, continues, however, to be without any organization or common program. Therefore, it is in a way amazing that support for the Greens in opinion polls stays around 5 percent at the least, generally speaking, at the same level as the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] and the RKP [Swedish People's Party].

The traditional parliamentary parties have adopted a scornful attitude toward the popularity enjoyed by the Greens. They have trusted in the fact that when the novelty wears off, the Greens will have no base. If the voters still found some appeal in them in the municipal elections, the situation will be different in the parliamentary elections.

This has, indeed, generally been the thinking. Even otherwise, it has been considered that soft values are waning among youth. Selfishness and introspective thinking are once again considered to be assets. Environmental protection is, indeed, a good thing, but education and raising one's standard of living are also felt to be important.

How then does the research observation supported by opinion polls that the Greens are receiving new supporters from all the parties and above all from youthful voters fit into this picture? Is it rather a question of a protest against the old parties than an active response evoked by the Greens? This would be worth consideration by the parties. Relatively speaking, the most appeal for the Greens seems to come from the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] and the SMP.

There is still a year left until the parliamentary elections. Before these elections, parliament must make a decision on the procurement of a fifth nuclear power plant, which will most likely bring new life to the debate on Green values. When all the large ruling parties finally vote in favor of a nuclear power plant, the Greens may gain a considerable victory from among the opponents of nuclear power.

10576  
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POLITICAL

GREECE

## REASONS FOR PASOK'S 'OVERTURE TO LEFT' INVESTIGATED

## Reasons Analyzed

Athens ANDI in Greek 28 Mar 86 p 23

/Article by Stelios Kouloglou: "PASOK Too Is Asking: Is It a 'Turnabout' or a 'Strategic Turn?'"

/Excerpts Not only PASOK's leaders but the party itself are trying, following a first surprise, to find the deeper reasons that led Mr A. Papandreou to make a proposal for dialogue with the "traditional" Left.

Quite a few government party officials have already come to a conclusion that the first reason was the endeavor to transfer the field of confrontation from one that has to do with economic issues to one that has to do with the conditions and presumptions of dialogue. According to the same sources, in this way a waiting period situation is created and time is gained for implementing the government's economic policy, time that is growing because of the Left's inconsistencies and indecisions vis-a-vis the proposal.

## The Gorbachev Factor

The present situation of the two communist parties and their inconsistencies constitutes a second and basic reason for the prime minister's surprise. PASOK had already been informed that during the meeting between the KKE delegation and the Soviet leadership on the occasion of the 27th congress the latter "did not mince its words" with regard to PASOK. That is, it stressed that besides the general Gorbachev line with regard to cooperation with socialist and also with social democratic parties, "PASOK is very special, positively-speaking, because of the special place and history of Greece." Although it is recognized that the exhortations of the CPSU's present leadership have much less meaning than in the past, they nevertheless ideologically influence the KKE's leadership elements.

The above information and evaluations seem to have been reinforced by the conversation that Mr Tsokhatzopoulos had with the CPSU secretary general during the 27th congress. M. Gorbachev emphasized "his special high regard over the initiative of the six and of Greece's role," as well as the latter's "positive stance" on the missiles issue, without at all broaching the bases issue or that of withdrawal from NATO.

At the same time, the stance of high-ranking Soviet officers during talks with Greek Government officials a short time ago did not at all harbor the idea of any "rupture" between Greece and the American factor, indeed, just the opposite.

In planning his second trip abroad, namely Athens, following last year's to Paris, the Soviet leader is precisely defining the limits of his present policy vis-a-vis West Europe, a policy that does not aim at, at least from a tactical standpoint, abolishing NATO but at encouraging differences and feelings of independence among certain European partners, always, however, within the framework of the Alliance. It seems that for some years now Soviet leaders have given top priority both to the reorganization of their economy and also, however, to a more normal handling of the changes, both party and social, that will ensue in the remaining Warsaw Pact countries.

Coming back now, however, to the Greek Left, Mr Papandreou seems to have been disturbed by the apparent normalization of relations between the KKE and the KKE (Int.)

In view of the upcoming municipal elections, PASOK was in danger --and is still in danger-- of finding itself between two crossfires, without any guarantee that a struggle on two fronts similar to that in the 1985 elections would have positive results this time.

The third reason for the proposal was strictly "intra-PASOK" in nature. Besides overcoming a difficult congress that had planned for a discussion of a self-critical examination of the entire course of PASOK, the political grass roots, especially in the provinces, seem to breathe easier, following a period of asphyxiating "subjugation," and now answer every form of criticism from the Left by "come on now, let's sit down and discuss matters."

Less idyllic, however, is the situation of the leadership level. The Executive Office feels especially annoyed both because no member of the office, except Mr A. Tsokhatzopoulos, knew of the proposal and also because one of the originators of the proposal is K. Laliotis, former member of the Executive Office.

Both the front page article in ETHNOS last Thursday that repeated an older proposal by the Executive Office about a "radical restructuring" of the government as well as "speculation" about the extent and prospects for cooperation with the Left must be considered as opposition to this situation.

These differences of opinion, however, and the confusion that prevails inside the government party in connection with the dialogue and its prospects are due primarily to the fact that each person interprets in his own way the "written" intentions of the prime minister. Certain of the supporters of the proposal attribute to Mr Papandreou an intention of a "strategic turn" (an end to self-reliance, democratization, etc.) while the Executive Office appears to prefer the meaning of "tactics." Questions about a "turnabout" and the healthy or unhealthy proposals for the initiative are not being expressed exclusively by the two communist parties or journalists.

Nevertheless, the use of dialogue and cooperation with the Left as a weapon in Greek-American relations, in view of the Shultz visit, is certainly a fourth reason for the proposal and in this instance Papandreou plays the game "odds or evens, I win," i.e. cooperation with the Left could be used as a negotiating

factor with the United States in case of a worsening of relations, but also as a factor for minimizing American opposition in case relations should become normal. And from this standpoint the results of the Shultz visit, with the most characteristic sign being the formulation or not of an invitation of the prime minister for Washington will perhaps play a role not only for national developments but prospects for intra-Left dialogue.

#### Justification Profered

Athens EXORMISI TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 30 Mar 86 p 24

/Editorial: "Permanent Political Choice"/

/Text/ "Tactical turnabout" or "alternative strategy?" This question has been of concern and still is of concern --one may say excessively so-- to newspaper article writers of varied political tendencies as well as to the traditional Left's officials who were called on to answer and to position themselves over PASOK's proposal for dialogue and cooperation.

The endeavor they are undertaking to answer this question today leads them to a more or less candid broadening of intentions --PASOK's intentions in this specific case-- which, however, can substantially occur only after the beginning of the dialogue itself.

PASOK has announced that it will take an overall position once it receives answers from all parties concerned (something that has not occurred at the time this article was being written). It is possible, however, on the basis of what has been said up to now under the direction of the Movement, to make certain clear remarks.

PASOK has described its proposal as a permanent political choice, adding that it wants to develop every possible convergence among the democratic and leftist forces.

Nevertheless, the proposal, without refuting PASOK's basic strategic choices, goes beyond the scope of a mere tactical move.

It stems from the overall needs of society and change today and not from the change of conditions that shaped the nature and strategies of the parties.

Deliberations and activities already taking place at the top party levels but even more so at the grass roots levels reveal that PASOK's proposal is definitely contributing to a broader and more powerful political framework to express the movement of the social forces of change in the direction called for by the critical demands and requirements of our time.

The shaping of the course of the relationship "political agreement at the top - social agreement at the grass roots" is neither straightforward nor mechanistic in nature. It requires a complex and mutually-influenced course with agreement being the primary aspect.

It is in this context that the proposal for dialogue and cooperation acquires the characteristics of a permanent political line for PASOK that compounds or brings to light, consolidates or brings about opposition, that introduces lines into the social grass roots for their own political elevation, always subjected to the criterion of the course toward socialism.

It is also in this context that the proposal frees social forces for a new intervention into institutions, exactly there where their perspective and content is safeguarded, where social potential is recorded and where the issue of Change is promoted.

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POLITICAL

GREECE

## RESULTS OF POLL ON PERSONALITIES, PARTY PREFERENCE

Athens AKROPOLIS in Greek 23 Mar 86 pp 1-2

/Text/ The opinion the people now have for the policy that is being followed, is a hard blow to the government, the party that supports it in parliament, and Mr Papandreou. And it is sending the message in all directions that the end of PASOK steadily is approaching. A poll taken a few days ago for the benefit of AKROPOLIS reveals the popular tendencies and also indicates that: The "New Democracy" is ahead in the popular preference over PASOK. Mr Karamanlis continues to be the more popular personality of the country.

The poll was taken by Eurodim during 10 to 14 Mar and covered extremely current subjects, such as: The popularity, in addition to Mr Karamanlis, of Messrs Sartzetakis, Papandreou, Mitsotakis, Florakis and other political personalities. Past and present government policy. The prospects of molding the electoral results that clearly are in favor of the party of the honorable opposition.

	New Democracy	Democratic Renewal	PASOK	KKE (Int)	KKE	Remaining Parties	Undecided
Total	34.5	3	33	4.5	16	1	8
<u>Vote 1985</u>							
ND	91	6	0	0	0	0	3
PASOK	1	0	77	2	7	0	13
KKE (Int)	0	0	0	90	5	0	5
KKE	0	0	0	1	95	0	4

On the basis of the "electoral result" reflected by this table, PASOK loses power.

## The questions

More specifically, the questions that were asked dealt with:

How acceptable is the work of the government for the ten months that have elapsed since the elections last June? The crushing answer is negative, since 60% of those who were asked describe the government's work as being negative and 34% consider it to be rather positive.

To what extent do you approve the work of the government for the 4 1/2 years it has been in power? 52% of those who were asked consider this work to be negative and 46% consider it to be positive.

To what extent is the present government better or worse than the one that was in power for four years before the election? According to the poll, the answer is: Only 11% of those asked describe it as better and 40% as worse, while 37% did not see any difference. In other words, another negative appraisal of the government. Evidently, Mr Papandreou has the same view, since he is planning a "seismic" reformation during the first 15 day period of April.

How satisfactory is Mr Sartzetakis as president of the Republic? The majority opinion is negative. 33% of those asked said they were satisfied and 56% said they were not. Furthermore, the popularity of the present president of the Republic has decreased considerably, as we will see more analytically below.

### It is not Satisfactory

How satisfactory or not is the performance of Mr Papandreou as a prime minister? 37% of those asked were satisfied. 62% were not.

Another question refers to the degree of productivity of Mr Mitsotakis as the leader of the honorable opposition. Most of those who answered, 60%, are not satisfied, but 35% have the opposite view, considering Mr Mitsotakis' performance to be satisfactory.

### It has Decreased

What about the popularity of the political personalities? Mr Sartzetakis has the preference of 42%. Last November, a similar poll by Evrodim found Mr Sartzetakis' popularity to be up to 50%, as is indicated in a table that is set forth below.

Mr Karamanlis has the greatest popularity at 50%. He is followed by Mr Papandreou with 42%, while last November he had 44%, Mr Mitsotakis with 34%, Mr Florakis with 22%, Mr Rallis with 31%, Mr Averof with 27%, Mr Stefanopoulos with 17%, Mr Kyrkos, with 21% and Mr Arsenis with 18%.

### It was Harmful

To the critical question of immediate current interest on whether or not the economic policy of the government was of any benefit, the answers clearly are negative. Only 7% consider the government policy to be of benefit as far as they were concerned, 38% did not want to specify whether or not it was of benefit, but 53% clearly believe it was harmful.

To another relative question on whether the economic measures taken by the government were beneficial or harmful to the economy, the answers again were crushingly negative. Only 19% of those asked said that these measures were very or considerably beneficial, while 72% emphatically were negative.

The evaluation on the confrontation of inflation was also negative, since only 19% of those asked considers the government policy as being effective in dealing with inflation. On the other hand, 79% describe this policy as having little or no effectiveness.

Most of those who were asked how much these measures will help the economy recover from its crisis provided an inauspicious evaluation.

### Superiority

Only 28% nourishes a similar optimism. 57% gave a negative answer to this too.

Coming to the last question dealing with the prospects of the political developments, that is to say what party would gather the most votes if elections were to take place now, the answers were: "New Democracy" 34.5%, PASOK 33%, KKE 16%, KKE (Int.) 4.5%, Democratic Renewal 3%, Remaining Parties 1%, Undecided 8%.

The following conclusions are revealed from this poll: The majority of the people are not happy with the government and its policy. The basic structure of the "New Democracy" is securely tight, something that the recent congress of the PASOK central committee realized. The difference in superiority of the "New Democracy" as opposed to PASOK, however, calls for the acceleration of the struggle of the party of the present honorable opposition so that the final victory can definitely be secured.

Set forth below are the revealing tables containing the questions and answers in correspondence to the party affiliation of those who participated in the poll that was conducted in behalf of AKROPOLIS.

The work of the PASOK government formed after the recent elections has been for the 10 month period after these elections:

	Rather Positive	Rather Negative	No Answer
Total	34	61	5
<u>Vote 1985</u>			
ND	0	99	1
PASOK	79	17	4
KKE (Int)	0	100	0
KKE	7	92	1

According to your opinion, the work of the PASOK government during the 4.5 years (1981-1985) has been:

	Rather Positive	Rather Negative	No Answer
Total	46	52	2
<u>Vote 1985</u>			
ND	2	97	1
PASOK	96	4	0
KKE (Int)	35	65	0
KKE	21	79	0

According to your opinion, in comparison with the former 4 year period, the new PASOK government, during the 10 month period after the elections, has been:

	Better	The Same	Worse	No Answer
Total	11	37	49	3
<u>Vote 1985</u>				
ND	0	22	77	1
PASOK	26	56	17	1
KKE (Int)	0	10	90	0
KKE	3	27	68	2

Regarding Mr Sartzetakis as a president of the Republic, you are:

	Very or Considerably Satisfied	A Little or Not At All Satisfied	No Answer
Total	39	56	5
<u>Vote 1985</u>			
ND	3	95	2
PASOK	81	16	3
KKE (Int)	15	85	0
KKE	31	68	1

Regarding Mr Papandreou, as prime minister of the country, up to now, you are:

	Very or Considerably Satisfied	A Little or Not At All Satisfied	No Answer
Total	37	62	1
<u>Vote 1985</u>			
ND	1	98	1
PASOK	86	14	0
KKE (Int)	0	100	0
KKE	6	94	0

Regarding Mr Mitsotakis, as leader of the honorable opposition, up to now, you are:

	Very or Considerably Satisfied	A Little or Not At All Satisfied	No Answer
Total	35	62	3
<u>Vote 1985</u>			
ND	89	10	1
PASOK	4	94	2
KKE (Int)	0	95	0
KKE	3	94	3

Has the economic policy of the government personally benefited or harmed you up to now?

	Benefited	Neither Benefited nor Harmed	Harmed	No Answer
Total	7	38	53	2
<u>Vote 1985</u>				
ND	1	20	73	1
PASOK	16	56	27	1
KKE (Int)	5	10	85	0
KKE	0	21	78	1

During the 5 months that have elapsed since then, do you think these measures benefited the Greek economy?

	Very Much or Considerably	Little or Not At All	No Answer
Total	19	72	9
<u>Vote 1985</u>			
ND	0	96	4
PASOK	46	46	8
KKE (Int)	0	90	10
KKE	1	77	12

The policy of the government for dealing with inflation is:

	Very or Considerably Effective	Little or Not At All Effective	No Answer
Total	19	79	2
<u>Vote 1985</u>			
ND	0	100	0
PASOK	46	53	1
KKE (Int)	0	100	0
KKE	0	100	0

Do you believe that these measures will help the Greek economy get out of the crisis?

	Yes	No	No Answer
Total	28	57	15
<u>Vote 1985</u>			
ND	2	87	11
PASOK	63	19	18
KKE (Int)	0	100	0
KKE	7	87	6

# Popularity of Politicians

(They have a very good or considerably good opinion of each one)

	Sartzetakis	Karamanlis	Papandreou	Mitsotakis	Florakis	Rallis	Kyrkos	Averof	Stefanopoulos	Arsenis
Total	42	50	42	34	22	31	21	27	17	18
<u>Vote 1985</u>										
ND	3	93	1	88	1	72	6	71	31	2
PASOK	86	33	92	4	20	9	30	3	11	33
KKE (Int)	15	0	10	5	15	0	100	0	0	30
KKE	30	7	18	1	93	3	20	0	1	14

Comparing this table with the corresponding one taken from the poll conducted in November 85, again by Eurodim, shows the decrease in the popularity of Mr Sartzetakis. The table from the November poll is set forth below:

# Popularity of Politicians

(They have a very good or considerably good opinion of each one)

	Sartzetakis	Karamanlis	Papandreou	Mitsotakis	Florakis	Rallis	Kyrkos	Averof	Stefanopoulos
Total	50	53	44	29	23	32	24	28	29
<u>Elections 1985</u>									
NE		9	95	6	4	77	13	72	52
PASOK	89	34	87	2	18	6	27	4	15
KKE (Int)	54	14	23	0	20	9	100	6	9
KKE	43	7	14	1	91	1	14	0	5

If elections for Greek parliament were to be held today which one of these parties would you vote for?

	ND	Democratic Renewal	PASOK	KKE (Int)	KKE	Remaining Parties	Undecided
Total	34.5	3	33	4.5	16	1	8
<u>Vote 1985</u>							
ND	91	6	0	0	0	0	3
PASOK	1	0	77	2	7	0	13
KKE (Int)	0	0	0	90	5	0	5
KKE	0	0	0	1	95	0	4

The "identity" of this research, as given by Eurodim: "This research took place between 10 and 14 Mar 86 interviewing a sample of 600 persons who reside in the Athens-Piraeus-suburbs area who have been chosen by the quota method by sex, age, area and electoral geography, so that all the population categories proportionately are represented. This method, that is used exclusively in Greece by Eurodim, provides the best possible representative sample.

"Eurodim has signed the International Code for Practice for the market research and public opinion polls of the ICC/ESOMAR /European Union for Market Research and Public Opinion Polls/. All Eurodim research is performed in accordance with the regulations of this code. Data processing was performed on the computer of Prime Company that has special programming for social research."

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POLITICAL

NORWAY

SOCIALIST LEFT-PARTY NEW PROGRAM MODIFIES MARXISM

Oslo NY TID in Norwegian 8 Feb 86 p 11

[Interview by Ingolf Hakon Teigene: "SV's New Principle: Modern Marxism"]

[Text] Marxist--and modern. This will be the Socialist Left-Party's (SV) ideological profile if next year's party congress supports the new program-policy proposal. Program-Committee Chairman Tora Houg said in an interview that "SV is building on a Marxist foundation." At the same time, the proposal represents a complete showdown with changes in the Marxist tradition, a clear contrast to the party's present program policy, dating back to 1977. Tora Houg also foresees a debate between what she calls the "liberal" and the "more traditional" views within the party.

While the former program policy--which now seems like a major understatement--claims that the power does "not only" belong to the labor class in the Soviet Union, the committee's new program proposal refers to the Soviet Union as "a bureaucratic dictatorship."

In the paragraph devoted to armaments and the threat of nuclear war, the responsibility for armaments is divided equally between the two superpowers.

"But I am not ruling out that this particular issue will be subject to future debate," said Tora Houg.

In response to the question whether SV would continue to be a revolutionary party, Houg said:

"Yes, in the sense of striving for a complete social revolution. But this will be a democratic revolution and a peaceful change to socialism. We definitely need a strategy to break with capitalism, and this is where SV differs from the Labor Party, for example."

## In the Wake of Marxism

The committee is now putting the finishing touches on the program proposal--which will soon be circulated among party members for debate. The final program will be adopted by next year's party congress.

The committee's proposal states that "Marxist traditions and ideas can be used to justify suppression. The 'proletariat's dictatorship' theory has been used to justify suppression of political forces other than the Communist Party. The concept of 'democratic centralism' has been used to justify suppression of opposition and debate within the party. The belief that Marxism is an infallible science and that history has but one outcome leads to intolerance and suppression and has been used to justify the liquidation of political opposition."

Tora Houg also pointed out that no country today serves as a model for the kind of socialism SV wants to implement.

She also said that the committee did not refer to any country as socialistic. China and the Soviet Union are countries that "have broken with capitalism," according to the committee.

During our interview NY TID asked the following question:

"Can you support the following thesis: Democracy is the goal, and socialism is a means to achieve this goal. If socialism cannot effect a more democratic society, must socialism be rejected?"

"I cannot support this formulation because I feel it misses the essential point. Socialism is both the means and the goal. Democracy alone--without socialism's perspective on solidarity and fair distribution--is for me an inadequate goal."

## Socialism in Norway

NY TID also asked Houg this question:

"In SV's opinion, is there any country in the world where democracy and social and economic equality is as well developed as in Norway?"

"Let me again first point out that no society serves as a model for our vision of socialism. We view Norway as a capitalist world country, but with strong democratic traditions. There is great potential for democratic socialism in Norway--as well as in the other Nordic countries--with their strong democratic roots. We want to link up with these strong traditions."

"So Scandinavia's mixed economy today does not meet SV's demands?"

"No, we view the mixed economy both as a result of capitalism and as necessary to modern capitalism. Here we essentially part company with the Social Democratic-Party view; we want fundamental changes."

"We continue to support the nationalization of banks and credit institutions. At the same time, we are trying to find cooperative and community ownership models. And, of course, in our kind of socialism there is room for private initiative and property ownership. We have deliberately chosen not to go into details on this. But our goal is the most democracy possible--also in the economy--so that the people involved can make as many decisions as possible."

Houg pointed out that the program proposal contains a very critical evaluation of government bureaucracy.

"We want to dispose of the myth that SV is 50 percent more State than the Labor Party. We support farm interests in our proposal," said Tora Houg.

However, she foresees a debate on decentralized versus centralized government.

"Centralized government is a means of achieving the greatest possible equality and fairness. More decentralized individual businesses and municipal agencies can lead to greater inequality."

Asked about the most important differences between the committee's program proposal and the 1977 program, the SV deputy chairman answered:

"First of all, this proposal is very clear in its criticism of important changes in the socialist and communist tradition. Secondly, we have a broader view of society, in which the disparity between workers and capital interests is the key, but our basic view also takes into account knowledge of the Environmental Movement, the Peace Movement, the Women's Movement and the leisure-time society."

#### Liberal and Traditional

Tora Houg also expects debate between what she calls the "liberal" and the "more traditional" tendencies within SV. She defines the program-committee majority--including herself--as traditionally oriented.

The debate on opening hours is one area in which such differences may erupt; another is TV advertising. In the area of foreign policy, there are those who want to debate SV's NATO policy. There is disagreement as to how quickly and in what manner our relationship with NATO should be severed, "although there is essentially no disagreement about our opposition to NATO and the block policy," said Tora Houg.

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POLITICAL

NORWAY

SOCIALIST LEFT-PARTY LEADERSHIP ON NUCLEAR ARMED WARSHIPS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Mar 86 p 5

[Excerpt from article by Trygve Monsen: "SV: Nuclear Statement and Higher Teacher Salaries"]

[Text] "The Socialist Left-Party (SV) leadership demands that warships coming into Norwegian ports declare themselves to be nuclear-free. Without such declarations, the government's statement on nuclear-free harbors is but empty words that undermine Norwegian sovereignty and deceive the public," according to a statement by the SV leadership, which appointed Finn Gustavsen the new editor of NY TID.

"The so-called Bratteli statement led to some kind of agreement, but it obscures the real situation; the United States will not respect the conditions set forth in the Bratteli statement," said SV leader Theo Koritzinsky.

Koritzinsky is anxiously awaiting the Labor Party and the middle parties' reaction to the SV legislative proposal to keep nuclear-armed warships out of Norwegian harbors. He feels the proposal will force the parties to show their true colors. The Labor Party is now winking at U.S. warships in Norwegian harbors. Koritzinsky suspects that the U.S. "Iowa," in Oslo last year, had nuclear arms aboard.

The SV leadership supports teachers' salary demands, feeling that good working conditions for teachers are vitally important to a positive social development.

At a press conference following the SV leadership meeting, the newly appointed editor of NY TID said that the welfare society is being threatened by the government's money-saving policy.

"For my own part, I have stated that my own standard of living will not go up in 1986, but the demand for moderation must be applied to everybody. We could meet the salary demand of 10 teachers today by dividing among them one top Norwegian industry executive's wage increase," said Gustavsen.

The 2-day long meeting of the SV leadership also included the adoption of a plan of action against pollution.

"This plan will engage the entire party in getting environmental problems on the political agenda," said parliamentary representative Kjellbjorg Lunde.

8952/12795

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POLITICAL

NORWAY

## POLLS REVEAL STONGEST SUPPORT FOR CONSERVATIVES SINCE 1981

### February Poll Results

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 22 Mar 86 p 9

[Article: "Conservatives' Best Poll Results Since 1981 Election"]

[Text] The Conservatives have achieved their best results on the political barometer of Norway's Marketdata since the fall of 1981. A total of 31.6 percent (+1.6%) support the Conservatives in the February poll. The Center Party lost some ground, but otherwise there were only small variations from January to February.

For the Conservatives, the current figures also represent an advance of a bold percentage point relative to the parliamentary election last year and are nearly identical to the results of 31.7 percent in the victorious election of 1981.

The Christian Democratic Party has exactly the same support as in the previous poll, i.e., 7.9 percent, while the Center Party declined from 6.4 to 5.7 percent. Both of these parties are somewhat below the support levels they had in the parliamentary election.

The Progress Party has the least reason to be satisfied with the survey from Marketdata. The result of 3.1 percent is a decline of only 0.3 percent, but it is the lowest measurement in several years.

The Labor Party held firm at 42.2 percent, while the Socialist Liberal Party lost 0.3 percent, resulting in 5.4 percent support. The Liberals received 2.5 percent--the same as previously.

The relative strength of the opposition Labor and Socialist Liberal parties on the one hand, and the ruling parties plus the Progress Party on the other hand, has shifted a bit from month to month since the election. This time, the non-socialist group is somewhat ahead with 48.3, opposed to 47.8 percent.

# NORWAY'S MARKETDATA - POLITICAL BAROMETER

		1 Fylkes- tings- valg 1985														2 Stor- tings- valg 1985													
		Sept. 1985	Jan. 1985	Feb. 1985	Mars. 1985	Apr. 1985	Mai 1985	Juni 1985	Aug. 1985	Sept. 1985	Okt. 1985	Nov. 1985	Des. 1985	Jan. 1986	Feb. 1986														
Sos. V. parti	3	5,3	5,3	5,2	4,6	5,1	5,3	5,4	5,5	6,4	6,5	6,1	6,5	5,7	5,4														
Arbeiderpartiet	4	38,9	39,4	38,4	39,2	38,2	39,7	38,7	38,5	40,8	41,5	41,5	41,0	42,2	42,2														
Venstre	5	4,4	3,7	4,2	3,6	3,5	4,5	3,7	3,5	3,1	3,2	2,6	2,2	1,6	2,5														
Sum	6	48,6	48,4	47,8	47,4	46,8	49,5	47,8	47,8	49,4	51,1	50,9	49,8	49,1	50,4														
Senterpartiet	7	7,2	6,2	6,2	6,1	6,4	5,3	6,0	6,6	6,6	5,5	7,3	6,1	6,2	6,4														
Kristelig Folkep.	8	8,8	8,4	8,5	8,3	7,7	8,4	8,5	8,1	8,3	7,6	8,0	7,9	8,7	7,9														
Høyre	9	26,4	29,1	28,7	30,8	31,0	29,9	30,1	30,0	30,4	28,0	31,0	30,7	30,0	31,6														
Fremskrittsp.	10	6,3	6,5	6,9	5,5	5,8	4,9	5,3	5,4	3,7	4,0	4,8	3,6	3,9	3,1														
Sum	11	48,7	50,2	49,3	50,7	50,9	48,5	49,9	50,1	49,0	47,5	48,1	48,6	49,5	48,3														
Det Lib. Folkep.	12	0,7	0,5	0,5	0,6	0,3	0,4	0,7	0,7	0,5	0,5	0,4	0,3	0,3	0,7														
Rød Valgallianse	13	1,2	0,5	1,1	0,8	1,2	0,7	1,0	0,9	0,6	0,6	0,2	0,5	0,8	0,5														
Kommunistpartiet	14	0,4	0,4	0,8	0,3	0,5	0,7	0,5	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,6	0,2	0,3														
Andre	15	0,3	0,0	0,5	0,2	0,3	0,2	0,1	0,4	0,4	0,3	0,3	0,1	0,1	0,2														
Total		99,9	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,1	100,1	100,1	100,0	99,9	100,0	100,0	100,1														
Svar om partipref.	16	1020	1046	1056	1037	984	1024	1052	—	1030	1095	993	970	1098	1066														
Antall intervjuer falt	17	1253	1278	1255	1262	1216	1263	1268	—	1218	1240	1191	1152	1282	1248														

## Key:

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. District Election 1985      | 10. Progress Party                          |
| 2. Parliamentary Election 1985 | 11. Total                                   |
| 3. Socialist Liberal Party     | 12. Liberal Peoples Party                   |
| 4. Labor Party                 | 13. Red Voter Alliance                      |
| 5. Liberal Party               | 14. Norwegian Communist Party               |
| 6. Total                       | 15. Other Parties                           |
| 7. Center Party                | 16. Number of Responses re Party Preference |
| 8. Christian Democratic Party  | 17. Total Number of Interviews              |
| 9. Conservative Party          |   |

The barometer results from selective adjustments relative to the last parliamentary election. The statistical margin of error can be on the order of 3 percent for voting percentages in the 50 percent range, about 2 percent for percentages between 10-20 percent, and about 1 percent for lesser voting percentages. Interviewing occurred during the period 20 February-15 March, 1986.

March Poll Results

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 5 Apr 86 p 3

[Article: "Strong Major Parties - Stable Voters"]

[Text] Our two major parties have strong support among voters. The Labor Party, with 43.3 percent, and the Conservatives, with 30.9 percent, both have advanced on the Gallup/NOI/AFTENPOSTEN political barometer. The same two parties naturally can point to a high degree of stability among voters. Among Labor Party voters from 1985, 95 percent remain loyal to their party and the same pertains to 93 of the Conservatives' voters.

Voter stability also can be measured for the largest of the smaller parties, and as concerns the Progress Party, the figure is 79 percent, the Christian Democratic Party 84 percent, the Center Party 80 percent, and the Socialist Liberal Party 81 percent.

According to the Gallup/NOI poll, 62 percent of Socialist Liberal voters have the Labor Party as their first alternative, while the corresponding figure for Labor Party voters is 32 percent. Conservative voters split with 29 percent for the Progress Party, 22 percent for the Center Party, and 8 percent for the Christian Democratic party, when they are asked for their second choice of a party. The Center Party voters would choose the Conservatives as their next-best party (50%), while 13 percent tend toward the Christian Democrats and 11 percent to the Labor Party. Christian Democratic voters, on the other hand, would go alternatively to the Center Party (41%) and the Conservatives (29%).

The Conservatives' voter support is greatest among the age group up to 45, and thereafter weakens, while the Labor Party has a reverse tendency and is particularly weak among the age group 18-29, with just 32 percent support.

12 May 1986

	1	Stor- tings- valget 1981 %	April %	Mai %	Jun %	1	Stor- tings- valget 1985 %	Sept. %	Okt. %	Nov. %	Des. %	1986 Jan. %	Feb. %	Mars %
Ap. ....		37.1	38.2	38.9	37.6	37.3	40.8	41.6	41.9	42.6	43.0	41.0	42.2	43.3
DLF.....		0.6	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.1
Fr.p. ....		4.5	6.1	4.0	3.3	4.1	3.7	4.5	4.1	3.1	3.1	3.5	3.5	3.1
H .....		31.8	30.6	31.9	33.5	32.8	30.4	29.0	29.8	31.1	30.2	30.4	30.2	30.9
Kr.F.....		9.3	8.3	8.7	8.7	8.9	8.3	7.4	7.6	7.5	7.8	9.5	8.0	7.2
NKP .....		0.3	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.3
RV .....		0.7	0.9	0.9	0.5	1.3	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.6
Sp. ....		6.6	7.3	6.5	5.8	5.8	6.6	6.2	6.8	6.5	5.8	4.8	5.7	6.0
SV .....		5.0	5.3	5.2	5.9	5.7	5.5	6.3	5.8	5.7	5.7	6.4	5.9	5.7
V .....		3.9	2.3	3.3	3.7	2.9	3.1	3.3	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.2	2.3	2.2
Andre .....		0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.6	1.1	0.6	0.6
Sum .....		100.1	100.1	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ap. + SV .....		42.1	43.5	44.1	43.5	43.0	46.3	47.9	47.7	48.3	48.7	47.4	48.1	49.0
H + Kr.F. + Sp. ....		47.7	46.2	47.1	48.0	47.5	45.3	42.6	44.2	45.1	43.8	44.7	43.9	44.1
H + Kr.F. + Sp. + Fr.p. ....		52.2	52.3	51.1	51.3	51.6	49.0	47.1	48.3	48.2	46.9	48.2	47.4	47.2

## Key:

1. Parliamentary Election	NKP	Norwegian Communist Party
Ap. Labor Party	RV	Radical Liberal Party
DLF Liberal Peoples Party	Sp.	Center Party
Fr.p. Progress Party	SV	Socialist Liberal Party
H Conservative Party	V	Liberal Party
Kr.F. Christian Democratic Party	Andre	Other Parties

The figures show--of those who for certain would vote--how many would vote for a given party in a possible parliamentary election tomorrow. Survey participants also were asked for which party they voted in the parliamentary election in 1985. The differences between the support for a given party by way of response to this question, contrasted with the actual actual result in 1985, are used as a weighting factor.

Interviews took place during the period 10-25 March, 1986.

## Cabinet Members' Support Polled

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 26 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Bjorn Talen: "Presthus Surpasses Willoch"]

[Text] Who is performing best among the members of the government? Rolf Presthus is the response in an opinion poll from Gallup/NOI. Since November, the finance minister thus has sailed past both Transportation Minister Johan J. Jakobsen and Prime Minister Kare Willoch himself. To be sure, there are more who name Willoch relative to Presthus among those who have performed best recently, but at the same time, the prime minister also receives twice as many minus points as the finance minister.

In November last year, Kare Willoch was at the head of this list, clearly ahead of Johan J. Jakobsen, Rolf Presthus, Kjell Magne Bondevik, Astrid Gjertsen and Arne Rettedal. In February, the ranking was as follows: 1. Presthus, 2. Willoch, 3. Rettedal, 4. Jakobsen, 5. Frogn Sellaeg, and 6. Bondevik.

#### Conservatives Lead

The Conservatives score best and win the first three places. But at the same time, the Conservatives dominate the bottom of the list. Foreign Minister Sverre Strøm takes a decisive last place--now as previously.

But Social Minister Leif Arne Heløe also has lost in many voters' eyes, and the same pertains to Oil & Energy Minister Kare Kristiansen.

The midsection of the list is made up of the newest members of the government, about whom people have neither much positive nor negative to say. For example, Industry Minister Petter Thomassen barely was mentioned.

The question which was posed was as follows: "Who in the government do you believe has performed the best in the past few months? And who next?" and "Who do you believe has performed the worst in the past few months? And who next?".

Of those surveyed, 21 percent responded that Kare Willoch has performed the best and 9 percent said second best. The corresponding figures for Presthus were 16 and 13 percent. But Willoch also received 10 percent response on the "loser list" contrasted with the finance minister's minimal 3 percent. Three and four percent, respectively, named these two as the next-biggest losers. The ranking on the list reflects the difference between plus and minus points, and in the graph which follows, one point was given for being named first, and a half-point for second choice.

#### Feminine Appeal

The on-the-move finance minister did far better than Willoch among men, while the prime minister has the best "female draw." Along with Presthus, Local Government Minister Arne Rettedal scored highest among men. Presthus also is number one among voters in the Labor Party, the Center Party and the Socialist Liberal Party. The latter party also favors Rettedal and Gjertsen. For his part, Willoch receives the best marks among the Conservatives, the Christian Democrats and the Progressives. The Conservatives' own voters put Willoch far ahead of Presthus.

This survey was carried out prior to the new belt-tightening measures, but it also is noteworthy that the finance minister comes out number one. There is much which suggests that the strong support for Presthus as the new Conservative Party chairman has contributed to strengthening the picture of him as a popular and successful politician.

It also is interesting to note that Rolf Presthus, without competition, is considered as the best in the government among members of LO, who otherwise place Willoch and Kare Kristiansen highest on the loser list. Particularly critical of the Energy Minister are upper-income groups, who seemingly think that he has tackled oil issues poorly, notwithstanding that it is the government as a whole which is responsible for that. Social Minister Heloe, for his part, receives the greatest opposition among older voters and on the political fringes.

Among newcomers to the government, it is Wenche Frogn Sellaeg who does the best. To be sure, the justice minister is named first more rarely than Bondevik and Gjertsen, but in contrast, the latter two have many more opponents. Among veterans, Defense Minister Arne C. Sjaastad and Commerce Minister Asbjorn Haugstvedt make the weakest showing--both for the good and for the bad.

Kare Willoch received more plus points than Rolf Presthus, but also is named more frequently on the loser list, so that Presthus comes out best overall. From Sjaastad and below on the graph which follows, there are more minus than plus points so that the bars protrude farther to the left than the right of the midline.

(Worst Performers)		(Best Performers)
Minus Points		Plus Points
1	Finansminister: Rolf Presthus 5	22,5
2	Statsminister: Kåre Willoch 11,5	25,5
3	Kommunalminister: Arne Retteal 4	9
4	Samferdselsminister: Johan J. Jakobsen 2,5	7
5	Justisminister: Wenche Frøgn Sellæg 1,5	4,5
6	Kirke- og undervisningsminister: Kjell Magne Bondevik 7,5	9,5
7	Forbrukerminister: Astrid Gjørten 6,5	7
8	Kulturminister: Lars Roar Langset 3,5	4
9	Landbruksminister: Svein Sundsbø 1,5	1,5
1	Fiskeriminister: Eivind Reiten 1,5	1,5
11	Industriminister: Petter Thomassen 0,5	0,5
12	Forsvarsminister: Anders C. Sjøstad 3	2,5
13	Miljøvernminister: Rakel Surlen 6,5	4
14	Handelsminister: Asbjørn Haugstvedt 3,5	1
15	Bistandsminister: Reidun Brusletten 5	1,5
16	Olje- og energiminister: Kåre Kristiansen 10,5	3,5
17	Sosialminister: Leif Arne Helee 9	2
18	Utenriksminister: Svønn Stray 16	4

Key:

- |                                |                                       |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Finance Minister            | 10. Fisheries Minister                |
| 2. Prime Minister              | 11. Industry Minister                 |
| 3. Local Government Minister   | 12. Defense Minister                  |
| 4. Transportation Minister     | 13. Environmental Protection Minister |
| 5. Justice Minister            | 14. Commerce Minister                 |
| 6. Church & Education Minister | 15. Foreign Aid Minister              |
| 7. Consumer Minister           | 16. Oil & Energy Minister             |
| 8. Culture Minister            | 17. Social Minister                   |
| 9. Agriculture Minister        | 18. Foreign Minister                  |

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## AIR DEFENSE RECEIVES HIGHEST SERVICE PRIORITY

## Army Receiving Missiles, Modernization

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 13 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by Niels Eric Boesgaard: "New Missiles for Army"]

[Text]        New air defense missiles costing 1.1 billion kroner and modernization of the field artillery are at the top of the defense minister's wish list.

The army must have a new close-range air defense system and at the same time the 45-year-old towed 155-mm field gun (howitzer) is to have a new long barrel which will increase to a considerable extent its range and effectiveness.

The purchases are two of the most costly on the list which Defense Minister Hans Engell presented the other day to the Folketing Finance Committee.

"The new close-range air defense system will cost 1.1 billion kroner and will be procured over a number of years," Hans Engell tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

"It is a system which will be able to be used by the army's units against low-flying enemy planes."

"It will replace the gradually aging Red Eye personnel-borne air defense missile."

"It has not yet been decided what type it will be a question of, but as soon as the appropriation is available negotiations will be begun with foreign factories whose products satisfy the operational and technical requirements stipulated by the armed forces," the minister adds.

The plans to rebuild the 155-mm howitzers will cost 247 million kroner and are expected to be carried out in cooperation with Holland and Norway, who use the same type of guns.

The main contractor according to JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY will be the Rotterdam Shipyard weapons technology division with DISA [not further identified]

in Denmark and the Kongsberg Weapons Plant in Norway as subcontractors.

The project consists partly in the fact that the howitzer is to be supplied with a longer barrel so that it will have a range of over 30 km, and partly that it is to be outfitted with a Volkswagen engine on its axle so that it will be easier for the gun crew to drive it into position.

The guns, which were designed in 1941, were sent to the army in the 1950's as part of American weapons aid.

The rebuilding will mean that the type will be up to date far into the next century.

Among the other new procurements are 340 million kroner worth of sea mine materiel, 132 million kroner for the modification of torpedoes, 122 million for modification of F-16 fighter planes, and 164 million kroner for modification of the HAWK air defense missiles.

It is a question of a total of 2.2 billion kroner worth of procurements over a number of years up to 1993.

#### Army, Navy Acquiring HAWK

Copenhagen MILITAERT TIDSSKRIFT in Danish No 1, Jan 86 pp 14-20

[Article by Major M. Christensen, tactics (air defense) specialist teacher at the Air Force Officers School: "Reflections in Connection with Instatement of the HAWK in the Air Defense System"]

#### [Text] The Article's Background

The importance of having an effective air defense system has been acknowledged to an increasingly greater extent in recent years. It has found expression, among other things, in the planned procurement of more F-16 planes, which can be used in an air defense role, along with an influx of additional HAWK squadrons, which can be used exclusively for air defense.

In spite of the organizational placing of these weapons in the air force, there is rather great interest in their instatement in both the army and navy. This is due to the fact that both the F-16 and HAWK by virtue of their range are able to cover large areas and for this reason can to a certain extent supplement and take the pressure off these two service's own air defense resources.

Such a "joint effort" concerning airspace is of course totally in the spirit of the times and the modest resources and here, as in all other matters concerning the armed forces, at the user's level there must all the time be the plain objective of squeezing the greatest possible effect out of the weapons allotted. That is, speaking in the vernacular, each time a trigger or

firing button is squeezed or pressed, the "preliminary work" must be of such a nature that there is the greatest possible certainty that the bullet/shell/missile will strike and destroy the right target.

With a doubling of the original number of HAWK squadrons in progress, in the years to come we will have such an expansion of this weapons system that many military authorities will directly and indirectly come in contact with it. For this reason I think it apropos to describe some of the "preliminary work" which is necessary in order to optimize the HAWK effort. I will stick to the sheerly tactical aspects, for I do not want to discuss here the more internally oriented but at least just as important technical effort which precedes a successful HAWK operation.

The preparation of tactics for the HAWK system depends on many factors, but some of the most decisive will be discussed below.

#### The Air Defense System's Size and Structure

Air defense planning can be divided into two parts:

A basic and more static "rough draft" of how the HAWK is to be used in a larger area/barrier air defense system ("area-"/"barrierdefence" [as published in English]) or in a point air defense system ("pointdefence" [in English]).

Detailed and flexible current planning of how units are to be brought into action optimally within the above-cited "air defense system rough draft."

The number of air defense weapons is not so great that the whole country can be covered effectively (area defense). For this reason it must be appropriate to concentrate the resources at our disposal in an advanced position against a potential attacker (barrier defense) as well as around vital installations within the air defense area (point defense).

#### The Threat

The air threat to Denmark is due to the short distances to the Warsaw Pact's air bases and an approach over the sea concentrated at low altitudes. It is my estimate that modern fighter planes will be able to operate in formations at altitudes down to about 300 feet or about 100 meters. Such a threat is the most difficult imaginable, because it gives the air defense system only a short warning. This involves the constant requirement of the greatest possible detection distance for all units.

#### Airspace Management

Ground-based weapons systems of any kind (the HAWK, for example) have with time become able on very short warning to send increasingly greater amounts of shells and missiles farther and farther out into the airspace both horizontally and vertically. This has resulted in the fact that the requirement of identification of one's own and enemy weapons in the air must be able to be solved extremely rapidly, with great certainty and at long range. As far as the

HAWK is concerned, this must take place before opening fire and ideally within range for opening fire. At the same time one does not want more costly weapons systems to engage the same target at the same time. It is sought to solve this identification and coordination problem by, among other things, extensive airspace control ("airspace management"). This places constraints on both planes and ground-based weapons systems' free utilization of airspace. These constraints can be implemented in a more or less suitable manner and are truly an area which requires careful planning in order to guarantee that rules will be established for utilization of airspace which represent an acceptable compromise between planes and the ideal requirements of ground-based systems, i.e., absolute freedom of operation.

#### Tactical Complexity

Here the traditional question could be asked, whether these problems could not be surmounted by letting F-16's--which are a more versatile weapons system than the HAWK--take over the latter's air defense role. To this there is the simple answer that F-16's and the HAWK both can certainly provide air defense; but, however, they do not have the same tactical and technical capabilities and they are for this reason an excellent supplement to one another, but they cannot replace one another. With an appropriate instatement so that a prospective attacker will have to take care of both weapons systems, the F-16's and the HAWK's different characteristics result in the fact that the attacker is confronted with a more complex tactical challenge, which to a great extent contributes to increasing the air defense system's effectiveness and credibility.

#### HAWK's Characteristics

The HAWK system is designed as a ground-based air defense system designed to shoot down planes at medium range (up to about 35 km). What is more interesting is the fact that it also over its entire range is able with high accuracy to engage planes down at "treetop altitude," i.e., precisely where the difficult threat is expected to occur. Largely speaking, the HAWK is still the only operational ground-based air defense system in NATO which combines considerable range with accuracy and great engagement capacity at low altitudes. It is quite in fact principally these properties it is presumed are gone after when HAWK weapons are procured.

However, on HAWK's debit side there are some areas which tactics must take into consideration.

The HAWK system is heavier and therefore less mobile than many SHORAD systems. The time for dismantling and setting up the equipment is measured in hours. In addition, the mobility of the units depends heavily on the number of towing vehicles which are available.

The supply of missiles in each unit is limited by, among other things, how much equipment it is practical to take along when one moves.

Finally, it can be mentioned that some HAWK squadrons are less fit for close-range defending of themselves against planes which are close to the unit.

#### Section Conclusion

The parameters mentioned are in my opinion the most important which must be taken into consideration when a HAWK air defense system is to be constructed. In addition, it is necessary to realize the fact that a HAWK air defense system is not a static thing, but something which changes all the time in pace with, among other things, which air defense problems one desires to solve and which deployment frequency has been established for units out of general survival considerations. A stop to operations for technical reasons or because of destruction during a war are also factors which all the time influence planning. Of course, it is not possible in planning to attend equally well to all the matters mentioned above. But in my opinion the factor which governs both basic and current planning must be the threat. And when it is primarily at low altitude, the HAWK must be given an opportunity to utilize its capabilities of engaging precisely there. Since air defense resources are limited, the planning must also provide an opportunity for the HAWK's being able to utilize its low-altitude coverage in the largest possible area, i.e., for engagements at low altitude being able to be begun at as great a distance from units as possible. At the same time the possibility of certain identification is to be seen to, as discussed in connection with airspace management.

#### Influence of the Terrain

However, this means that the terrain is a factor which cannot be avoided. HAWK units must be placed up on the highest accessible points in the terrain, and especially high points near the coast, for the combination of hill and ocean provides somewhat nearly ideal engagement opportunities out over the water.

Figure 1 serves as an illustration of this, which shows the radar coverage for planes at an altitude of 300 feet above the terrain from a point of a relatively flat area inland, which does not especially favor HAWK operations; as well as fig 2, which shows radar coverage against a threat at the same altitude from a hill near the coast.

These two illustrations are empirically representative of what radar coverage is like in various types of terrain and, accordingly, it can be generally stated that those parts of Denmark which are more hilly and near the coast are those which best favor HAWK operations.

In the flat parts of Germany, where the HAWK system also operates, it will be able to be seen that such great importance has been attached to radar coverage and the ability to guide missiles at low altitude that large sums have been spent on building "artificial hills" in the form of elevator towers of considerable height for the HAWK equipment.

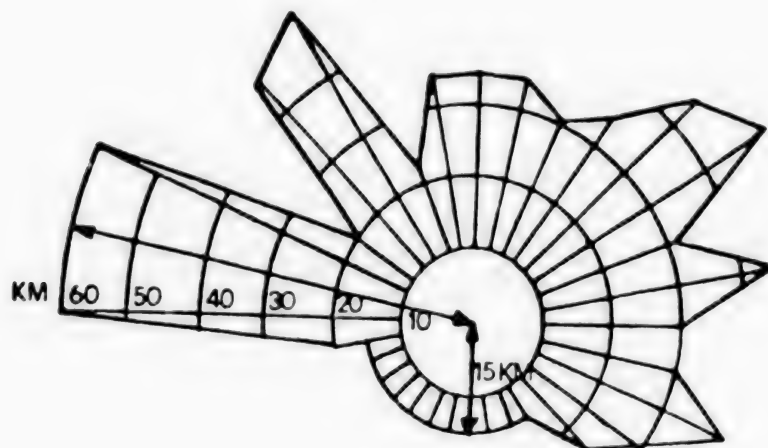


Figure 1. Radar Coverage for Target at Flight Altitude of 300' (100 m) from Approximately 50-m-High Hill 8 km SSW of Gram

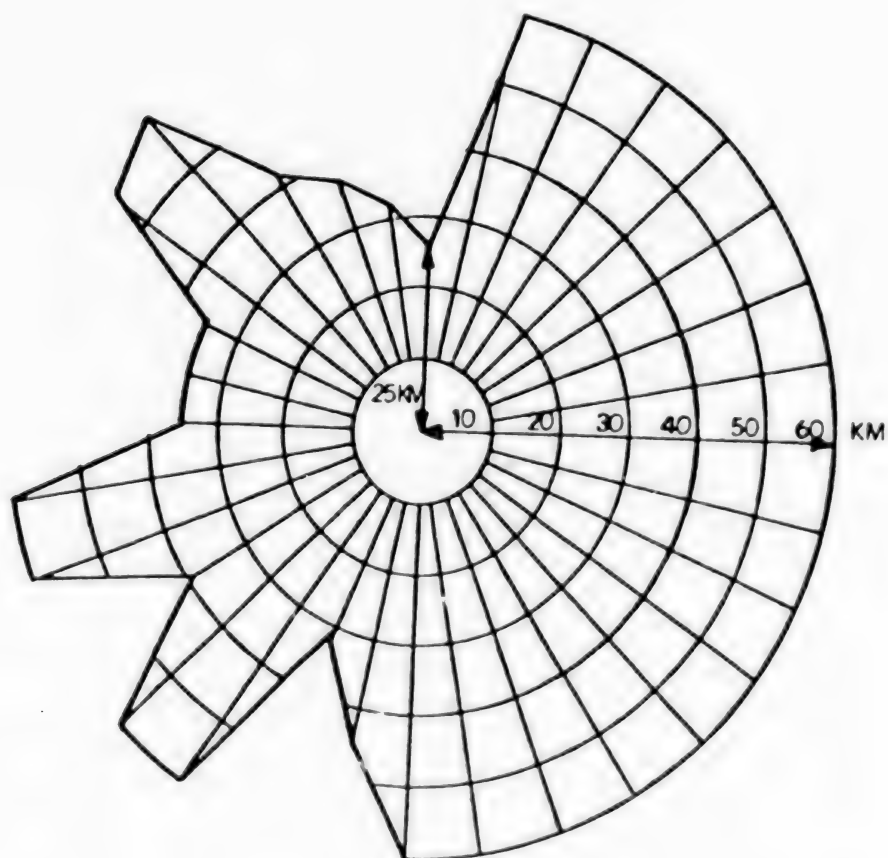


Figure 2. Radar Coverage for Target at Flight Altitude of 300' (100 m) from Approximately 70-m-High Hill 5 km NE of Haderslev

The terrain is accordingly a weighty factor when an air defense system rough draft is to be prepared, and if one is faced with other, in other respects apparently equal, possibilities, the terrain should be the decisive factor for which possibility is chosen, for it seems absurd to procure a weapons system with unique properties proportional to the threat and then limit these properties needlessly by incorrect utilization of the terrain.

#### Guidance of the HAWK

When the rough draft has been established, it is the HAWK units' guidance staff which is responsible for precisely the same considerations with regard to utilization of the highest points in engagement areas. An additional number of practical problems enter in here, for it is necessary to make sure of the terrain's accessibility and passability, which can be a problem at high points in large parts of the year.

Because of the HAWK's lacking close-range air defense capacity, the units must in addition be set up so that they have "mutual support," which means in practice that neighboring units can always shoot over each other's positions and thereby provide mutual air defense for themselves.

The limited ability for close-range air defense as well as the possibility of foreseen and unforeseen maintenance and time for moving mean, besides, that normally an individual HAWK unit is not considered suited for operating independently of other HAWK units.

The guidance staff must establish a deployment plan which primarily constitutes a description of the in reality relatively few suitable position areas for the HAWK system. An important guidance tool is prepared diagrams which show the radar coverage from the possible positions so that it is known all the time what engagement possibilities one has at low altitude when a unit is moved from one place to another.

An additional circumstance which can influence instatement of the HAWK system is coordination with other units--especially army--which utilize the terrain.

Beyond the up-to-the-minute coordination of times, places and march routes, which must take place on a current basis, preplanning must take place which to the greatest extent possible gives the HAWK system priority for using those relatively few places which provide for optimal HAWK operations.

#### Finish and Conclusion

When the firing button in a HAWK unit is acted on and the missile leaves its launching ramp to set out on its only brief flight in its "proper element," all experiences from thousands of tactical test and exercise firings as well as direct efforts in battle in two Middle East wars on the part of the Israelis have shown that the probability that the HAWK will shoot down its target is great. This is in all essentials the HAWK's "image."

I hope with these reflections I have contributed to an understanding of the fact that although the engineering contributes to a great extent to the seemingly simple and "infallible" missile operation, there is also extensive and just as necessary practical preliminary work, and I have not even discussed the very great amount of work that takes place all the time in units in order to move, make ready and maintain, as well as operate, the materiel. The entire operational aspect concerning electronic warfare and certain aspects of "airspace management" have also not been discussed for classification reasons. In spite of the fact that the technology is in constant development and can help and relieve the pressure on us in many areas, it is still the human factor which is the basic condition for any HAWK operation's successful accomplishment.

It is important for everyone at the planning and coordinating level to recognize that HAWK operations to a greater extent than SHORAD or airplane operations are dependent on the terrain. The prerequisite for utilizing the HAWK's special properties is for this reason that this circumstance be constantly paid regard to. Only in this way will the greatest possible effect be gotten from an air defense system which is planned to function optimally in a war situation and thereby create "deterrence" in peace time.

8831

CSO: 3613/95

MILITARY

FINLAND

# MILITARY ECONOMICS SECTION CHIEF ON PROCUREMENT COST PROBLEMS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 1 Apr 86 p 30

[Article by Antti Blafield and Renny Jokelin: "Military Economics General Can Be Satisfied"]

[Text] In recent years the Army has received funds for its procurements at the rate recommended by the defense committees, sometimes even more. However, the military men are not satisfied. The newest term is "technical advancement". What is meant by this is that procurements have fallen behind the technical development of weapons.

When Lieutenant General and Military Economics Chief Pentti Vayrynen retires in May, he can confirm that the Finnish soldier can be equipped with something other than a cockade. He is an important individual for industry since the Army will procure more than 750 million markkaa worth of materiel this year from Finnish firms.

Lieutenant General Pentti Vayrynen, military economics chief of the Defense Forces, will retire as a satisfied man. Vayrynen has directed the military economics staff for 9 years. During that time the Army's relations with society have improved; the Army's aspirations are being accomplished better than before.

Vayrynen was assigned to the General Staff as a department officer in 1956. Vayrynen has concentrated on military economics since 1960, and now he is the chief of military economics.

Because of his unique career, Vayrynen is also the indisputable number one man in his field in the Army. His word carries a lot of weight when decisions are made on military procurements. His own attitude toward his career is that "he is only an exception which proves the rule" and assures "that there is no need for other generals to be on good terms with him, but he must be on good terms with everyone".

[Question] How do the Defense Forces direct their procurements?

[Answer] As much as possible is procured domestically so that we would obtain as many Finnish products as possible during a time of crisis also.

[Question] How many people are employed as a result of the Army's procurements?

[Answer] That is difficult to calculate. On the average, a procurement of approximately 200,000--300,000 markkaa employs one person for a year's time. Calculated in this way, direct procurements probably employ 4,000--5,000 people a year.

[Question] How many firms would go out of business if the Army's procurements were to come to an end?

[Answer] Probably none. Certain sections in some firms would be disbanded since we have created specialized sections in preparation for a crisis situation. It can be said that several firms would experience difficulties.

#### 45 Percent from Domestic Production

[Question] Can it be assumed that we are dependent on imports?

[Answer] Certainly not. We would have to have the necessary materiel in the event of a war since ties with the outside world would be cut off during a crisis. The amount of materiel is paramount, and it cannot be procured in reserve before a crisis. Therefore, the best thing from our point of view is a firm which manufactures war materiel all the time. Orders should be placed with other firms from time to time so that their contact with products will be retained. These products are not simple, not even ammunition.

[Question] How much do you order from domestic firms?

[Answer] A full 45 percent of materiel procurements is ordered from domestic sources. As technology in Finland develops, this can be increased even to half. The domestic level increases to 70 percent of procurements by the Defence Forces if clothing, foodstuffs, and services are included.

[Question] What is the proportion of the East and the West in equipment procurements?

[Answer] In the 1960s and 1970s nearly 35 percent was procured from the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, and 25 percent from the West. Now one-third comes from the East, one-third from the West, and one-third from domestic production.

The share of domestic procurements has now increased as the result of the manufacture of domestic components, for example.

This year more than 1.6 billion will be spent on renewal and basic procurements, of which the proportion of bilateral trade will comprise 366 million markkaa.

Will Deficit With East Be Balanced Again?

[Question] A few years ago orders were timed because of the surplus in Eastern trade. Will this be done now?

[Answer] The Defense Forces do not, of course, make trade policy proposals, but we know what we will procure inasmuch as the political leadership agrees to it.

[Question] Are preparations being made in Finland for reducing the surplus with procurements by the Defense Forces?

[Answer] No preparations are being made, but it is clear that the Defense Forces can quickly say what they need.

[Question] Thus the shopping list is ready?

[Answer] The shopping list is not ready, but the products needed are known.

[Question] Would it be suitable for the Defense Forces that this or next year there would be a 500-million or a billion markka import surplus from the USSR?

[Answer] This is mere theory. I will not begin to speculate, but the Defense Forces have development needs. Orders are budgeted in proportion with defense expenditures. Imports could upset the domestic level of contribution and this would not always be correct and reasonable.

[Question] Are you afraid that an import surplus from the USSR could bring its own punishment in future defense budgets?

[Answer] This could happen, but materiel is not an end in itself. We must have personnel to use the materiel since high-tech equipment is not always at the disposal of the recruits. Technical personnel are needed for this. We cannot procure completely impossible items unless other conditions are also improved.

#### Support for Weapons Exports

[Question] Domestic industry has complained that not everything possible has been ordered from Finland. Reference has been made to English wool shirts and Renault trucks.

[Answer] What is the domestic alternative to Renault?

[Question] Could the Sisu be developed?

[Answer] This has been done. Conventional vehicles should also be sold on the world markets since the quantitative need of the Defense Forces is small and thus the development costs per unit price are unreasonable. The issue should be considered from the point of view of the whole national economy. For example, the development of a tank is not cheap.

[Question] Why does the Army support weapons exports.

[Answer] Weapons exports or the exporting of certain defense equipment is essential for firms supplying the Defense Forces with materiel. The purpose of exports is only to make Finland's production economically feasible since our procurements are not sufficient for a firm. Exports can also reduce our costs since the quantity is larger.

[Question] What would be the correct level of weapons exports from the point of view of the Defense Forces.

[Answer] It would not be high in any event. Exporting is not easy since all countries aspire to the greatest possible self-sufficiency.

[Question] How does the Army feel about the fact that Finland becomes involved in the mutual crises of third-party countries?

[Answer] In my opinion, weapons exports in principle represent a completely normal conduct of trade, and no one can initiate or maintain a war or insurrection with those export amounts.

Mortars Would Sell

[Question] Are Finnish weapons of such a high level that they would sell on the international markets?

[Answer] We have few weapons which we can export. Perhaps we are capable of producing a good assault rifle, a good field gun, and a good mortar. If another country wanted to arm itself with Finnish weapons, a mortar, for example, would be a consideration.

[Question] Weapons exports would pull us into crisis areas?

[Answer] We have a clear policy: weapons are not exported to crises areas.

[Question] Is this in the interests of the Defense Forces.

[Answer] Not always, of course. The limitation is, however, understandable and acceptable in my opinion.

[Question] Has the Council of State frequently changed the procurements of the Defense Forces?

[Answer] The Council of State has always joined in the position taken by the Defense Forces or has procured only what we have proposed.

[Question] Have you been able to decide what will be purchased and from where?

[Answer] Yes, as far as I know.

[Question] Are the politicians only rubber stamps?

[Answer] No. To my understanding, they receive more knowledge and information about basic procurements in this area than from any other administrative area.

#### Assault Rifle Sufficient

[Question] How extensive is the research and development work of the Army?

[Answer] The budget has set aside 11--12 million markkaa for this.

[Question] Is this also seen in the results?

[Answer] It is seen, but we are able to accomplish the same result as others with significantly smaller expenditures.

[Question] Do you have sufficient expertise to purchase weapons on the world markets?

[Answer] We are active in this area. For example, prior to the Hawk-procurements we travelled around the world in search of a good product. We must adopt a very critical attitude toward what is being developed in the world and make decisions courageously.

We are not underestimating high technology, but the Finnish soldier does not need high technology in all his duties. The assault rifle is still effective.

[Question] You do not sit on the boards of private enterprises. Why not?

[Answer] I have many other things to do.

[Question] Should you be on these boards?

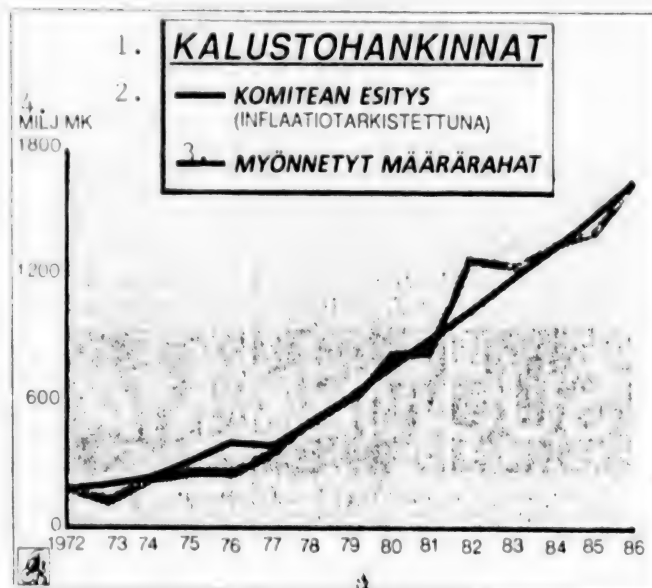
[Answer] No.

#### Recommendations of Defense Committee Have Been Accomplished

"The recommendations of the committees have been accomplished exceptionally well," says Military Economics Chief Pentti Vayrynen. According to Vayrynen, funds have been received pretty much in accordance with requests and all "the projects which have been recommended by the committees have at least been put in motion".

Vayrynen is dissatisfied with the delays in the completion of some projects and above all with "technical advancement". Vayrynen says that weapons technology is advancing so explosively that 2--6 percent more money than the current level of expenditures would be needed for the procurement of more modern weapons.

Vayrynen believes that development would have been similar even without the committees.



Key:

1. Equipment Procurements
2. Committee's proposal (adjusted for inflation)
3. Granted appropriations
4. Millions of markkaa

The military economics sections declines to make public any information about how much money has been given to the Army in recent years and for what purposes. The basic statement is only that defense expenditures comprise a small portion of the gross national product and the state budget.

#### Proportion of GNP Declined Until 1971

The proportion of military expenditures has been 1--2 percent of the gross national product for decades. In the beginning of the 1960s the proportion of the GNP was closer to 2 percent and exceeded the 2.1-percent limit in the record year of 1963, but then turned downward reaching its bottom in 1971 when the share of the gross national product was 1.37 percent.

The first defense committee established goals for the years 1972--76. Even though the most important thing was to increase and secure appropriations, the Army was also integrated into and made a part of Finnish society.

#### "They Were Already on The Way"

The first committee recommended that in the next 5 years 1 billion markkaa (in 1971 money) be used for the Army's basic procurements or primarily for new weapons.

Inflation had advanced at such a rapid rate that the Army and the Second Parliamentary Defense Committee, which submitted its report in 1976, confirmed that equipment procurement appropriations had fallen behind by approximately 300 million markkaa.

All the desired procurements were initiated, and even though they were not accomplished in the years 1972-76, "they were already on the way".

The Second Parliamentary Defense Committee recommended approximately 2.3 billion markkaa in appropriations for the years 1977-81. The committee noted that the sum includes 830 million markkaa in orders previously approved by parliament. The Army would have wanted 500 million more on the basis of the operations and economic plan of the Defense Forces.

The committee considered that the government would, however, grant the authorization for orders amounting to 2.6 billion markkaa, of which 1.4 billion would be used for continued operations in 1982-85.

The recommendations of the second committee went through nearly as originally proposed. According to the committee, there was a 400-million markkaa shortfall in operating and maintenance funds.

According to the calculations of Gustav Hagglund, the general secretary of the Third Parliamentary Defense Committee, 297 million markkaa remained unused in 1972-76, but this amount was only 28 million markkaa in 1977-80.

#### 10.4 Billion During Third Committee

The third committee's recommendation term will conclude at the end of this year. Jorma Juottonen, chief of the Military Economics Office, refrains, however, from giving out the General Staff's calculations on how much the Army should have received in weapons appropriations according to the committees and how much has been received in 1982-86.

The third committee recommended a total of 5.4 billion markkaa for the 5-year period of 1982-86. Of this amount 2.3 billion had already been granted in procurement authorizations.

According to the committee, in the next 5 years obligations would be accepted for 3 billion markkaa in preliminary orders in the years 1987-90.

According to the third committee, 5.4 billion markkaa should be expended for basic procurement and renewal expenditures and 2.9 billion markkaa for operating and maintenance expenditures. According to the calculations of HELSINGIN SANOMAT, a total of 6.7 billion has already been used or budgeted for basic procurements and renewals and 3.9 billion markkaa for operating and maintenance expenditures in 1982-86.

The more than 10.4 billion markkaa granted to the Army in 5 years for equipment procurements, renewals, and maintenance while taking inflation into consideration has been in accordance with the Army's objectives.

Indeed, except for that "technical advancement".

10576

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MILITARY

GREECE

# U.S. ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS TO BASES' ISSUE REPORTED

Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 23 Mar 86 p 4

/Article by Giorgos Trangas/

/Text/ The multifaceted importance of the American bases in Greece was highlighted last week during the crisis and military operations in the Gulf of Sidra. The American navy's telecommunications base in Nea Makri was immediately put on alert as were the crews of the intelligence collection aircraft and supply aircraft stationed at Ellinikon airport. Forty-eight hours later, Andreas and Shultz stressed that "they agreed not to divulge anything about the talks that relate to the future of the bases in our country."

Nevertheless --as a well-informed diplomatic source revealed to I VRADYNI-- "3 months ago, Washington informed London and Bonn at the highest levels about the formula and alternative solutions that have been found so that there might be no problem for the retention (or proper operation) of the bases and at the same time facilitate the Greek Government in its internal changes."

Of course, the government press and government officials continue to maintain that the agreement that Kapsis and Berlind signed "is valid for only 5 years and that a final date is most clearly defined in it."

Commenting on this position, western diplomats emphasize that "doubts that exist on this issue stem from the English text of the agreement, whose language is certainly not as rich as the Greek language in all of its phraseological nuances."

## The English Text

As these same diplomats have stressed, this agreement, the English text says, "is terminable" /rendered in English/ (i.e. capable of being terminated). Further on it reads, "Upon written notice" /rendered in English/. In other words, after written notification. (Editor's Note: "Upon = immediately after" /rendered in English/ according to the Oxford Universal Dictionary, i.e. immediately after). In this case, prior denunciation is absolutely necessary for the agreement to be terminated.

From September 1983 until now, the American Pentagon has continue to investigate and study all the alternative solutions in case the course of political developments in Greece would lead to "unpleasant complications." The traumatic experience in Iran has led the Americans "to keep from being burned a second time." A confidential report of the U.S. Financial Oversight Committee, dated 18 September 1983, stresses that "American installations on Greek territory satisfy operational needs by providing American forces capabilities for important communications and extended materiel support." The same confidential report notes that "according to the opinion of army officers and embassy officials the restrictions that have been imposed on American operations by the Greek socialist government are primarily procedural in nature and do not influence American activities in Greece." The committee members subsequently analyzed the cost of operating the bases and they pointed out that "as the new 5-year agreement is being implemented it will become apparent to what extent American operations are being restricted in Greece and how the Greeks are interpreting the agreement, something that will depend on the political and economic climate at a given moment." The report concludes that the "Pentagon plans to spend over 30 million dollars to build new installations and update existing ones above and beyond NATO standards and its requirements in Greece."

### The Soviets

Another report, dated 16 February 1984, written by defense specialist Richard Grimet, a report code named "84-24F," revealed U.S. concerns over the American bases in Greece and their vital importance within the broader spectrum of military operations in the Mediterranean. The first paragraph of the report notes that "the purpose of the bases is to provide important communication links between American and NATO forces, the stationing and supply of American and NATO air force and naval units and the capability for maintaining surveillance on Soviet military forces in the eastern Mediterranean."

Specifically, the report mentions Suda base which is an important support base in the eastern Mediterranean. Richard Grimet writes that it has exceptional natural defenses and a port large enough to accommodate the entire 6th Fleet. It also has a first class airport that is used for combined naval operations, as well as a missile base where test and training firings are conducted. In another chapter of the report, Grimet mentions that "the Nea Makri base is very important for the 6th Fleet's communications and together with the Kato Souli base they constitute part of the worldwide American defense telecommunications system because they make possible communications with other stations in Italy and Spain, as well as with American forces operating at sea."

### Alternative Solutions

According to information, the Pentagon's alternative solutions for the four main bases in Greece provide for the following:

1. The Suda naval air base that is considered one of the most important in the world will be transferred to the Sigonella base in Italy and to the Southwest Anatolia Region Naval Base in Turkey. Construction of the latter began last year in the Aksoz region, right across from Rhodes. This base that will berth nuclear submarines will be used by the 6th Fleet and the U.S. Air Force. The airport to be constructed right next to it will be able to accommodate all types of aircraft but primarily C-141 cargo aircraft and will be linked to NATO's NAMFI (Air Missile Firing Installation) /rendered in English/ plan.

2. The Ellinikon air base, one of the most important mainstays of the American air forces in Europe, will be transferred to the Turkish air force base of Gigli (in central western Turkey) and Sigonella in Sicily. An alternative capability is offered by the Incirlik base which along with the Ellinikon base are described as "key points" for the NAMFI system missile deployment.

3. The Irakleion air base, under whose jurisdiction is the surveillance by electronic means of Soviet activities in the eastern Mediterranean, will be transferred to Incirlik, an important American base that has an "in line" link with bases in Aviano, near Naples, and Torrejon in Spain, as well as that in Karatas, opposite Cyprus.

4. The big telecommunications station in Nea Makri, along with the Kato Souli installations, will be divided between the Corlu and Izmit bases, as well as the Yamanlar base that is at present directly linked to the Nea Makri base.

Nevertheless, according to western diplomats, a formula has been found for the retention of the bases (in fact, there has been no talk over the newly-established AWACS base). The most probable is that the Ellinikon base will be shut down (so as to ensure the government's verbal pyrotechnics) while the other bases will be expanded.

5671

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MILITARY

SPAIN

## WORKERS THREATEN TO STOP AIRCRAFT CARRIER CONSTRUCTION

Madrid YA in Spanish 11 Mar 86 p 12

[Article by Fernando Rueda]

[Text] Workers at Bazan de El Ferrol will halt construction work on the aircraft carrier "Principe de Asturias" if management of the national firm decides to lay off personnel. If such a measure were applied, it would be a considerable delay in delivery of the vessel and have an extremely adverse effect on the Navy, which urgently needs the flagship in its fleet.

Although workers prefer to await events, this newspaper has learned that they have already outlined the posture they would adopt if the announcement of a layoff is made, a move planned for a year and a half. Such actions include street demonstrations and the halting of construction work on the few boats still being built. Given the fact that in 1987, Bazan will have to deliver the aircraft carrier and the rest of the combat group to the Navy, such a paralysis of work would mean a high economic as well as defensive cost.

On the latest military holiday, there was a change in one of the constants in speeches of naval chiefs of staff, which was the complaint over delays in ship construction. This time, Adm Guillermo Salas Cardenal said that he viewed with satisfaction the company's work aimed at delivering vessels included in the naval program on time: the aircraft carrier and three frigates.

### Loss of NATO Contract

The firm's halting operations are old hat to the Navy. When Bazan officials claimed that delivery schedules would be met, naval personnel answered that there were two ways of meeting such deadlines: the normal system and the Bazan system.

The company's poor economic situation is caused by the lack of contracts in recent years, which has gradually reduced personnel needs. The most recent element, YA was told, was The United States' refusal to have the ships of its Sixth Fleet repaired in Spain, as a reprisal for the government's posture on NATO affairs. "As long as we do not know whether Spain is a loyal ally," it was stated, "we cannot run the risk of having our ships repaired at shipyards which in case of war we could not use."

In the face of this grave situation, a viability plan was approved. It would depend on the elimination of 4,000 jobs, but its application was delayed *sine die* for political reasons, according to sources in the company and on the workers committee.

According to the latter, the proximity of the NATO referendum and of legislative and trade union elections would advise checking such a serious issue until a new government is elected. The Astano matter still seems to linger in the minds of Bazan workers.

According to the committee, the posture of the national firm's management consists in speeding up the signing of the collective contract this year, although the last ones were not signed until midway through the year.

The American-made aircraft carrier "Dedalo" is only a reminder of past glories. It was launched in New Jersey in July 1943 and released to the Spanish Navy on 30 August 1967. Its operational life was to have been 30 years and it has been on the seas for all of 43!

At the present time, it has real problems in sailing and whenever it does so, it is only after lengthy stays at the shipyards. The vessel has already exceeded the Navy's maintenance expectations and consequently, any extension of its active life would mean costs out of all proportion to its performance. All naval men agree that it should be retired, for which reason they say that the "Principe de Asturias" is urgently needed.

It is now planned that the modern aircraft carrier will be delivered on 30 April 1987, which is after initial estimates. The three FFG frigates would be delivered -- if deadlines are met and if there are no labor disputes -- in May 1986, October 1986 and May 1987.

11,464

CSO: 3548/35

MILITARY

SPAIN

#### AIR FORCE EQUIPMENT SHORTCOMINGS REPORTED

Madrid YA in Spanish 17 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by Fernando Rueda]

[Text] The imminent arrival of 72 F-18A's, which will join an equal number of F-1's, now the most operational aircraft, will not be enough to ensure adequate control of either our strategic national air space or the Baleares-Straits of Gibraltar-Canary Islands areas. Consequently, the Air Force falls far short of being able to exercise the element of deterrence expected of it.

Participation in the ACE (European Fighter Aircraft) program is the great hope of Spanish aviation and Aeronautic Constructions, the Spanish firm benefiting the most from such construction activities. Nevertheless, Air Force estimates deem the acquisition of 144 ACE units insufficient because the threat has grown considerably in recent years, both in terms of numbers and the state of technological advancement.

The Air Force needs more tanker planes for in-flight refueling. Purchase of such aircraft has been speculated on various occasions. The need arises out of new threats such as the Mig-2000 fighter jet, which forces us to increase the range of interceptors or the amount of weapons to be carried by fighter-bombers in attacking land targets.

Air Force sources admit that they do not have the means necessary to guarantee the inviolability of our territory or the capacity for vigilance and advance warning by air. To solve this problem, it is necessary to install more advanced radar systems, which would prevent attack by planes flying at low and very low altitudes, both over the peninsula and the Canary Islands.

#### Spy Planes

Air Force plans for several years have included the purchase of early warning aircraft, more commonly known as Awacs, which eliminate the limitations of radar on land and its vulnerability to enemy attack. In the face of more urgent needs, the purchase of such spy planes has been postponed, given the fact that from the time of our entry into NATO, we have used Awacs that the United States has in the area. This was also the case at the end of last year during the first Tartesos exercises carried out by the three branches of the Armed

Forces under the orders of Adm Angel Liberal Lucini. If we had Awacs, we could expand our air vigilance and prevent attacks by enemy planes flying at very low altitudes or even by cruise missiles flying at treetop level.

The Air Force has little mobility, which is a serious problem. The only solution is the purchase of an adequate number of transport planes suited for the mission. Of special concern is the great gap in medium-size transport planes carrying 40 to 50 passengers, of great importance in a country such as Spain. Regarding the air superiority which our Air Force must guarantee in supporting the Army and Navy, it is quite ineffective at the present time and is based on the old F05's, soon to be replaced. The only valid solution, given the budgetary shortfall, is to purchase an additional squadron of ACE fighters, whose secondary mission would be land attacks. The growing naval threat from the Warsaw Pact both in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic requires that we have maritime patrol aircraft with a wide range of action and antisubmarine capabilities. This would point to the need to modernize or strengthen the existing P-3 Orions or replace them by more advanced versions.

To this extremely long list of urgent needs of the Air Force, one must add another element which, although not directly related to aircraft, is nevertheless of equal importance: A surprise attack could destroy all of our planes before they even get off the ground, due to the fact that our bases are lacking in active and passive defense systems. To avoid such a catastrophe, we must speed up programs for the construction of armored shelters and the establishment of our own units having land-to-air missiles and antiaircraft guns guaranteeing an effective on-the-spot defense.

Paralyzation of the acquisition of the Cabaneros firing grounds has left the modern F-18A's without any training field, meaning that their degree of efficiency will diminish if there is no rapid solution.

Finally, Spain needs a system of command, control and communications making it possible to conduct air operations in a dense electromagnetic atmosphere and in which antiaircraft weapons systems will be of the highest degree of technology and effectiveness. Otherwise, it would be impossible to direct the air battle, then doomed to total disaster.

11,464

CSO: 3548/35

ECONOMIC

FINLAND

# BUILDERS FIND MORE INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION FOR USSR PROJECTS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 9 Mar 86 p 46

[Article: "International Builders Compete in Soviet Union"]

[Text] Lappeenranta (HS) -- The competition in the Soviet construction market intensifies. The Finns are losing their competitive edge, which has been based on their long-term construction experience, and other European builders are crowding in.

On Thursday, at the provincial opening ceremonies of the Year of Construction in Lappeenranta, the director of Finn-Stroi Oy, Pekka Hynninen, said that there are builders in many European countries who are seeking Soviet experience and thus are becoming strong competitors in the building market.

Taking part in the bid competition is not cheap, according to Hynninen. "For every large industrial project, designing a bid is an investment of millions of markkas, and often someone else gets the contract."

Despite growing competition, the Soviet Union's importance is increasing as export to traditional areas in Africa and the Near East is decreasing.

In the upcoming five-year basic contract between the countries, the size of construction exports has been set at 1.2 billion rubles. Divided into exactly five years, it means almost two billion markkas in export from Finland to the Soviet Union.

The Mayor of Lappeenranta, Jarmo Kohli, has faith in the development of construction exports. "It is very likely that the Soviet Union's economic renewal will create new opportunities for Finns to take part in the development of various building sites."

Kohli also thought that building sites would be found in the Near East as soon as circumstances there stabilize. He stressed the significance of exported construction, and thought that it was important to continually search for new export possibilities.

In the Year of Construction ceremonies, the construction board of the city of Lappeenranta gave Lappeenranta's Saastopankki bank an award for quality construction. The bank had arranged an architectural competition, as a result of which a new bank building is currently being built in the city center. According to the board, a solution appropriate for the city plan had been found for a difficult site.

ECONOMIC

FINLAND

BRIEFS

CRANES FROM KONE TO USSR--Kone, Inc, will deliver harbor cranes to the Soviet Union. The value of the transaction is nearly 50 million Finnish marks. The agreement concerning deliveries was signed with the Soviet purchasing organization V/O Mashinoimport. This year, according to the agreement, Kone will deliver five 32-ton cantilever cranes and altogether fifteen loading cranes adapted for handling sand and crushed stone. They will be put to use in harbors in various parts of the Soviet Union. All the cranes will be made at the Kone plant in Helsinki. An agreement was also reached to deliver three loading cranes to the Soviet Union at the start of next year. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 26 Mar 86 p 29] 12327

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ECONOMIC

GREECE

# POLL ON ECONOMY SHOWS DISILLUSIONMENT WITH PASOK

Athens MESIMVRINI in Greek 23 Mar 86 p 20

/Article by Dim. Kalakos and Pan. Thomakos: "Outcry"/

/Text/ Questions: 1. How do you explain the continuing strikes?  
2. How could they stop in your opinion?

They answered: 1. 55% - They fooled us. The government is responsible for everything.  
2. 47.5% - There is no solution. They failed. They should leave.

An outburst of a deceived people! That is how public opinion in Athens explains the calamity of strikes that recently swept the place. This is the conclusion of yesterday's poll taken by MESIMVRINI of Athenians who are suffering from being out of work and from strikes in almost all of the working branches. The reaction of the people who live daily in the capital that is paralyzed from strikes shows that the government and its economic policy no longer inspire confidence, except to a small minority.

55% of those who were asked believe that the workers are right and that the entire responsibility for the recent surge of strikes rests with the government and the unpopular frugality measures.

## The Government is Incapable

The large majority of those who were asked considers the government policy in economic matters (frugality measures, high prices, etc.) to be responsible, and believes that the government is no longer in a position to regain the confidence of the workers.

Impressively high is the number of those who believe that the government will not last for long in this wave of strikes and will soon fall from this general outcry.

MESIMVRINI's poll was taken in the streets of Athens with the question: How do explain the continuing strikes and how could they stop in your opinion? 32 responded. Of them:

45 (55%) said that the government economic policy is responsible with the frugality measures, the high prices, the inflation that came right after the promises for "better days".

26 (32%) consider the wave of strikes inexcusable and believe that it is "a plan to undermine and erode the government", mostly and - to a lesser degree - an unreasonable demand of the workers.

11 (13%) either "had no opinion", or consider the situation normal in a "capitalistic society, where the workers continuously demand better working and living conditions".

It will Fall

As to the other part of the question:

The 39 Athenians (47.5%) "cannot see another solution" in the storm of strikes. The government will fall, but the country is falling with it. Let them leave!

24 (30%) consider the only solution to be the revocation of the frugality measures or their reconsideration after a sincere dialogue with the workers.

19 (22.5%) believe the government should not retreat, but should continue with its policy for the definite recovery of our economy.

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ENERGY

FINLAND

# ENERGY MINISTER LINDBLOM DISCUSSES NUCLEAR POWER FUTURE

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 21 Mar 86 pp 82,84

[Article by Arja Piispa: "Energy Minister's Thoughts on Nuclear Power"]

[Text] Who supports nuclear power? Who opposes it? Both "ordinary people" and parliamentary representatives have been asked this question in countless opinion polls. The minister who, according to current law, could in principle singlehandedly decide to build new power plants considers nuclear power a sensible alternative, but he wants the decision to be made in Parliament. A decision is needed soon.

Energy Minister Seppo Lindblom would be "very disappointed" if his term in the Ministry of Trade and Industry ended without his having "convinced the entire government that a positive attitude must in principle be adopted toward a program in which nuclear power capacity is deliberately and frugally increased."

Now that the plan to construct a fifth or possibly a fifth and sixth nuclear power plant has progressed far enough for Perusvoima (Imatran Voima + Teollisuuden Voima) to submit to the ministry a petition for a decision in principle to produce 1,000 megawatts of electricity by means of a new nuclear power plant, the interest of the people is focused on the government.

Does the government have the political will and readiness to make the decision in principle? Have Minister Lindblom's attempts at persuasion been successful?

I asked Seppo Lindblom about this and came away convinced. In reply to my question, I received a nearly hour-long philosophical discourse on the subject of energy policy and social well-being.

The energy minister has learned his trade. He is an articulate apostle of nuclear power as a worthwhile source of energy.

He is almost more persuasive than Dr Anders Palmgren of Imatran Voima. He also remembers to mention the nonelectrical production of heat for homes.

Lindblom was not speaking on the topic for the first time. Nor was I listening to him speak on it for the first time. When I last interviewed him in his home a year and a half ago and the talk turned to nuclear power, Lindblom smiled and

said that his daughters had threatened to stand in the doorway and mimic him if they heard the words "nuclear power" one more time.

#### What Is Soft, What Is Hard?

"In a way, it is very fascinating to discuss this topic. It is fascinating to make oneself understood," he says. "But this is not, of course, an issue fraught with momentous consequences.

"For me, the most important thing has been to argue in defense of rational thinking based on Western culture and to oppose the tendencies toward mysticism which have recently been fashionable in the debate on soft [= tending to conserve natural resources and protect the biosphere] values.

"The number-one soft value is, of course, a person's social well-being. It is also a warm home and good interpersonal relations. They depend greatly on whether or not father and mother have obtained work. Alongside those values, the other soft values are very specious. If father comes home and says he lost his job, the biodynamic scales are certainly forgotten.

"I have tried very hard to dispel the notion that I am an advocate of hard [= tending to consume natural resources and harm the biosphere] values. It is quite difficult, in my opinion, to decide what is soft and what is hard.

"If we go back a little in history, the technology was soft but the living conditions were hard. When there were just a swamp, a hoe, and Jussi, that Jussi was really occupied with soft values. He longed for another sort of world."

Modern technological society has certainly introduced negative things into Jussi's life, admits Lindblom, but society grows only as much as people want it to grow.

But what if additional technology and economic growth are not desired?

"Then you shouldn't think about social improvements, jobs, childcare subsidies, and bigger retirement pensions."

#### Energy Is Not Value as Such

"When you encounter people at a high sociopolitical level who speak on behalf of social reforms and in the same breath ask whether there will be a need for additional energy, then it is necessary to stress that energy is not a value or a goal as such.

"Just as labor and capital are needed, energy is also needed to sustain productive activity. From it, after all, is obtained every single markka for our well-developed social security.

"If there arises the belief that the future energy supply is not assured, this will be reflected in decisions on the investments by which the production base is maintained.

"If the idea of economic growth must be discarded because it is hard to make decisions on nuclear power or on energy in general, then many other good projects must also be discarded."

Lindblom believes that if he can engage people in a lengthy discussion, they will grasp the total picture and most of them will accept the arguments which are presented for increasing nuclear power.

If they are merely asked out of the blue whether or not a nuclear power plant should be built, it is easy to get an attitudinal response. For that reason, the opinion polls must only be taken as attitude surveys. When it is a matter of complicated cause-and-effect phenomena, the people must let their representatives decide.

Thus Lindblom wants the Parliament to decide, both in principle and in an actual situation, whether to construct a new power plant in Finland, even though the nuclear energy law, the express purpose of which is to give this authority to the Parliament, is only a government-sponsored bill in the Parliament's standing finance committee.

#### Decisionmaking for Parliament

The minister explains the entire decisionmaking process to me in detail in order to make sure I understand that neither he nor the other ministers want to make a hasty and undemocratic decision on the nuclear power plant because of trade with the Eastern bloc, for example, or some other political/commercial reason.

Nor is it a question of a desire by the minister of trade and industry to raise his lowered profile (the recent procrastination in connection with northern lumber companies and elevator agreements) by now showing briskness in making decisions.

The petition which Perusvoima just submitted will be sent, among other places, to the Radiation Protection Center, to ministries, to central offices, and to alternative localities (Eurajoki and Loviisa) for their comments.

The matter will be technically ready in 2 or 3 months for discussion by the government. If the government takes a positive stand in principle, the plan proceeds to the Parliament, which makes its own decision in principle for or against.

The purpose is not to dump the issue on the Parliament, as fellow party member Liisa Jaakonsaari, among others, fears, but to ask it for a specific yes-or-no decision.

"If the Parliament says no, nuclear power is eliminated from consideration, but a positive decision does not yet mean that the nuclear power plant will be built. The government can continue preparations at that time," emphasizes Lindblom.

Not until then is it time to select the concrete power-plant alternative: whom it will be ordered from, what size it will be, where it will be located. Building permits, new comments, etc, are obtained. The ultimate power to make the decision is in the hands of the State Council.

The actual decision to build may be made as early as this year, in which case the new power plant would be ready for use before the halfway mark of the next decade.

"Who Else Will Be Blamed Then?"

Is there enough political preparedness in the government to make even a decision in principle? After all, Foreign Affairs Minister and Center Party Chairman Paavo Vayrynen, among others, has clearly indicated that there is no hurry to make a decision. Or has he changed his position just in the last few days?

"The next few months will tell," says Lindblom. "If it's not to be, then it's not to be. The issue has to be settled fairly soon, however, in order for the Ministry of Trade and Industry to come up with alternative solutions in time."

According to Lindblom, the total package has met with a positive reception in the government. There are attractive elements in the package from the standpoint of the Center Party as well. An attempt has been made to listen to utterly justified views on behalf of dispersed energy.

Lindblom stresses his role as professional cabinet minister. He is responsible for energy.

"Who else but the professional minister will be blamed if there's an energy crunch in the 1990s? On the other hand, one must try to handle the task in such a way that no needless political problems arise."

In his opinion, a "soft" policy on this issue is also needed in the Parliament. Opinions differ so widely within the parties that each person should be allowed to arrive at his own standpoint independent of group decisions.

According to current law, the Ministry of Trade and Industry could make the decision to construct a power plant. It does not do that, however, but only makes the technical preparations. "Preparations are being made not just for a nuclear power solution but for satisfying the entire electricity requirement of the 1990s," emphasizes Lindblom. In overall economic terms, a large nuclear power plant would reportedly be the most advantageous solution.

"Large Power Plant Is Needed"

He continues his discourse: "And now I come to this energy package..." I hear about the "ambitious" program to introduce district heating, about fostering domestic energy, about conservation efforts, etc. The object of specific government measures is to obtain 500 more megawatts of counterpressure power than would otherwise be possible.

Wouldn't that be enough? Is a large power plant absolutely necessary?

"It is. Beyond any doubt! The demand is growing to such a degree that one 500-megawatt solution is sufficient for only 2 years, or 2½ years at a cautious guess. And in addition to a large power plant, more imported electricity is also needed."

But if economic growth is not 2.5 percent annually, as is assumed in the plans? If it remains less than that?

"In that case, we are in a really awkward position. We'll be worried about the unemployed. No one will even think about energy."

A year and a half ago Lindblom still believed that there was no hurry. The decision on a large power plant had to wait. "How do we know with certainty what will be needed in 10 years?" he said at that time.

Is our knowledge any better now?

"At some point, we have to stop talking about forecasts and start making decisions. We have to put our faith in the forecasts of the mechanism which rests on the best available knowledge of public officials."

"Who Knows About the Year 2010?"

Reliable officials have gotten their minister to believe that the red warning light is already flashing. Unless new energy is acquired, there will soon be a shortage. Overcapacity is steadily diminishing.

The alternative solutions are based on computations and complex comparisons concerning the thrifty use of material resources, the effects on the environment, and the availability of fuel. Scores of reports and surveys have been made.

"You have to put your faith in something. A minister can't start making computations himself. Not even parliamentary representatives do that," Lindblom points out. There are, of course, various viewpoints, but who can objectively judge which is the absolute best?

Seppo Lindblom does not believe in the standpoints which Doctor of Technology Markku Nurmi presents on the following pages concerning the wave of opposition to nuclear power throughout the world.

"For the time being, the French are still building at such a rate that a new nuclear power plant is dedicated every second or third month. There is considerably more construction in the Soviet Union as well. On the other hand, it is pointless to compare us with the United States, where there are a couple of hundred nuclear power plants built on an entirely different system. We have only four, which were constructed under extremely strict supervision. They are among the best operated and safest plants in the world." More nuclear power is also being introduced in Sweden, but there the decision has been made to tear down nuclear power plants by the year 2010.

"But by then we'll be walking cane in hand, if we're walking at all," predicts Lindblom. "Who knows what it will be like then?"

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